THE ROLE OF AL-ʿAQL IN EARLY ISLAMIC WISDOM

WITH REFERENCE TO IMAM JAʿFAR AL-ṢĀDIQ

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ABSTRACT

The Role Of *al-ʿAql* In Early Islamic Wisdom, With Reference To Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.

One major trajectory of early *ʿaql* traditions is scrutinized: the *Aqbil! Adbir!* creation narrative "*lammā khalaqa llāhu l-ʿaqla* When God had created the intelligence...". In Part I early Sunnī and Shīʿī transmission and reception of the varying texts dominates the discussion, with analysis of chief motifs. Then successive transformations are traced, with attention devoted to ideas of 'first creation'. The original context of the *Aqbil!* reports is convincingly explained within the thought forms of 1st & 2nd century theological ideas of voluntarism or predestination, without recourse to Goldziher's "neo-Platonic element". The late neo-Platonising form "*awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-ʿaqlu* The first (thing) God created is the intellect...", is shown to be not earlier than the mid-3rd/9th century.

In a related class of narratives, *ʿaql* pre-exists in the realm of the divine Throne. The focus is the notion of the divinely provisioned innate trait of 'intelligence' or 'wisdom' as a "light in the heart" inequitably apportioned among humanity. Part II examines the creative manner in which the sixth Shīʿī imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d.148/765) transforms the *Aqbil!* tradition by integrating this heavenly sapiential *ʿaql* with the 'Adam-Iblīs' conflict into a binary listing of the character traits (*akhlāq, khiṣāl*). His myth of the creation, empowerment, and opposition between *ʿaql* and *jahl* (intelligence & ignorance, or wisdom & folly) propounds a psycho-ethical scheme for the inner purgative struggle, wherein *ʿaql* operates as chief of the character traits. Jaʿfar stresses the cognitive function (*maʿrifah*) in the perfection of *ʿaql* peculiar to the inner circles of humanity (prophets, saints\Imāms, the faithful). An assessment is given of the repercussions of al-Ṣādiq's contribution for continuing Shīʿī and Ṣūfī enrichments of the *ʿaql* creation narratives (eg. with al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī).

ABSTRAIT

Le Rôle du *ʿAql* aux premiers siècles de la Sagesse Islamique, en se référant à l'Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.

Un important trajectoire des premières traditions du *ʿaql* <l'entendement, intelligence*compréhension> est scrutiné: le récit de la création du *ʿaql* "*Quand Dieu avait créé l'intelligence...*". Dans la première partie les anciennes transmissions des differents textes Sunnite et Shiʿite dominent la discussion, accompagnées des analyses des motifs principaux. Les réceptions successives sont tracées, en mettant l'accent sur les notions de la première création. Le contexte est expliqué d'une façon convaincante par les notions du premier et deuxième siècles de l'hégire sur la volonté et la prédetermination. "L'élément néoplatonique" de Goldziher n'étant pas nécessaire; la forme néoplatonisante "*La première chose que Dieu créa est l'intellect...*", ne pas être existante avant le 3ème siecle.

Dans une autre classe des récits, *ʿaql* pré-existe dans le domaine du trône divin, en tant que métaphore du trait inné de l'intelligence\sagesse donné par Dieu comme une "*lumière dans le coeur*" — et qui se trouve inégalement apportionné parmi l'humanité. La deuxième partie examine la façon créative dans laquelle le sixième imam Shiʿite Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (m.148/765) transforme le récit de la création du *ʿaql*, en fusionnant ce *ʿaql* céleste et sapientiaux avec le conflit Adam-Iblīs dans le contexte de la polarisation binaire des traits du caractère (*akhlāq*). Son mythe de la création, la fortification en pouvoirs, et l'opposition entre *ʿaql* et *jahl* (intelligence et ignorance, ou sagesse et folie), offre un schéma psycho-éthique pour la lutte purgative interne. Jaʿfar met l'accent sur la fonction cognitive (*maʿrifah*) de la perfection du *ʿaql* caractéristique des cercles internes de l'humanité. Une évaluation est offerte des répercussions de la contribution de al-Ṣādiq pour les enrichissements continuant Shiʿite et Sufi des récits de la création du *ʿaql* (e.g., avec al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī).

THE ROLE OF *al-ʿAQL* IN EARLY ISLAMIC WISDOM. WITH REFERENCE TO IMĀM JAʿFAR AL-ṢĀDIQ.

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PREFACE

An explanation is necessary to understand how this dissertation assumed its present shape after fifteen years. When working on the thought of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq in preparing a Masters Thesis, I was struck by his report on the seventy-five troops of *ʿAql* and *Jahl*, sensing that it held one key for unlocking a central aspect of his teaching. At the time I was learning how to swim in the ocean of Shīʿī *ḥadīth* literature, while studying Islamic theology and philosophy, Ṣūfīsm, Ismāʿīlism, as well as Gnosticism. Goldziher's 1908 article "Neoplatonic and Gnostic Elements in *Ḥadīth*" turned my attention to late Hellenistic thought and its reception in Islam. I took up the topic of *ʿaql* in al-Ṣādiq's teaching as my focus of doctoral study.

As I collected and arranged Twelver Shīʿī reports concerning *ʿaql*, I began to read more widely in Sunnī collections. I found a surprisingly large common ground shared between the two bodies of 'tradition' when it came to the *ʿaql* notions, particularly within the early corpus of non-canonical Sunnī reports and among certain Ṣūfī authors. However much I explored Neoplatonic thought, and the theological and philosophical trends of Classical Islam, the early *ḥadīth* materials grew increasingly recalcitrant and unintelligible. Everything I wrote missed the mark, and my translations of key terms failed to convey real meaning. Greek 'intellect' did not appear the best way to bring them into focus. I broadened my range of inquiry to explore

linkages or ruptures between pre-Islamic ideas, the Qur'ān, and the *ḥadīth*; while refreshing my acquaintance with Rabbinic, Patristic, and Zoroastrian teachings relevant to the Islamic *ʿaql* reports of the first two centuries AH (7th & 8th centuries CE).

This finally led me four years ago to a study of the Wisdom speculations known from Biblical writings, the pseudepigraphic literature of the inter-testamental period, certain Hellenistic texts, and Pahlavi literature. At last I could begin to comprehend my *ḥadīths* when re-reading and re-translating them, and to draw connections and contrasts between seemingly unrelated texts. Doubts assailed me; critical secondary literature was almost devoid of any confirmatory studies. 'How could this have escaped previous critical attention?', I asked myself. This presented a dilemma, since I was often met by incomprehension when pointing to the 'Wisdom dimension' of the *ʿaql* notions. The 'Neoplatonic element' clouded the view.

I deepened my acquaintance with the complex sciences of Muslim *ḥadīth* criticism (*isnād* analysis, the *rijāl*, & text variants), in order to achieve a measure of precision in assessing discrete reports. This threw much needed light on the reasons for the Sunnī Traditionalist rejection of *ʿaql* reports, eg. their condemnation of the notorious Kitāb al-ʿAql by the Iraqi Ṣūfī Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar (d.206/821). Yet the literary evolution of wisdom sayings into more complex genres did not easily lend themselves to such rigorous

treatment. The philological hurdles were not any less of a challenge when handling archaic sayings. I hoped that a detailed presentation of the rise of Islamic Wisdom teachings placing *ʿaql* at its center, would clear the view and establish beyond dispute the lost 'Wisdom dimension'.

My manuscript underwent pruning, re-writings and revisions, swelling to an ungainly fourteen chapters of ca. 900pp. including a long methodological introduction and a lengthy appendix. It consisted of three closely interwoven studies: 1) the unfolding and content of Islamic Wisdom (*Ḥikmah*) during the first two centuries AH; 2) the status of tradition narratives treating the notion of *ʿaql* in the context of early Muslim *Ḥadīth* transmission; and 3) a textual survey of the employment of *ʿaql* attempting to clarify the notions embraced by this term in *Ḥadīth*. It provided objective documentation for the process of linguistic and conceptual transformation of meanings in the employment of the term *ʿaql* found in early Muslim tradition reports.

I had behaved foolishly in disregarding the prime directive enunciated in Islamic Wisdom: to only say as much as will help others understand your meaning, and to know when not to say anything. Who in today's academic world has the leisure or the inclination to read such a dense and complex study? Therefore, I have chosen two chapters from the original manuscript to stand alone, reformatting them with endnotes and inserting appropriate minor additions to replace previous cross-references. A terse summary of the

linguistic employment and range of meanings for the term *ʿaql* in early *ḥadīth* now forms the introduction.

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If this work succeeds at all, then it is largely due to the real help provided by family, friends, and colleagues over many years. Special gratitude is due my advisor Professor Hermann Landolt for his long standing support and careful critique of this work. The same is true of the staff at McGill's Institute of Islamic Studies and its Director, Professor Üner Turgay. Warm thanks goes to Majd & Fayṣal Abū ʿIzz al-Dīn, and to Kinza & Philip Schuyler, for their encouragement, as well as Professor Mahmoud Ayoub. Those who assisted in providing necessary materials include Drs. Pierre Cachia, Jeanette Wakin, Azyumardi Azra, Matthew Gordon, as well as Father Isaac Crow and Mulla ʿAli Asghar (London\Najaf). I must thank Dr. George Atiyah (Library of Congress, Washington D.C.) for his extraordinary intervention ensuring access to Ibn Abī l-Dunyā's al-ʿAql wa Faḍluh.

Thanks goes to those who read drafts of parts of my work and offered criticism or linguistic aid, in particular Professors Issa Boullata, Hind Nassif, Mohammed Sawaie, Wen Chin Ouyang, William C. Chittick, A. Kevin Reinhart, Wadād al-Qāḍī, as well as Drs. Basil Samara, Paul Hubers, and Mr. Kamal Boullata. A special debt is owed to the kindness of Professors Etan Kohlberg (Hebrew University) and Josef van Ess (Universität Tübingen) for detailed critiques and comments which saved me from a number of errors.

The system of transliteration of Arabic letters employed is that of the Library of Congress, with modifications. The *tā' marbūṭah* is written as soft *-ah*, or as hard *-at* in construct. There is no regard for the tongue's elision of the definite article. Nor is any distinction made between the final *alif mamdūdah* and *alif maqṣūrah* (both -ā). Eulogies after the name of the Prophet Muḥammad ("*ṣallā llāhu ʻalayhi wa sallama*") or a prophet and imam ("*ʻalayhi l-salām*") are represented by *Ṣ* and *a.s.* respectively. In personal names, *ibn* is normally written as "b.", save for instances where the person is known by his agnate forbears (Yaḥyā b. Maʻīn, but Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal), or when using a brief form (Ibn al-Mubārak). All quotations from the Qur'ān are primarily based on the translation by Malik Ghulām Farīd, Qur'ān Majīd\The Holy Qur'ān [Lahore 1969], while verse numberings are those of the Khedivial Cairo edition. Biblical citations are taken from The New English Bible [Oxford 1972]. A number of terms are accepted as Anglicisms, including place names (eg. Mecca, Medinah) or words such as Caliph or imam. When employed with a specific connotation relevant to context, certain terms are capitalized and\or bold-letter (eg. **Imām**, rather than imam).

The *signa* employed are as follows: for translations — ( ) = words intended in the text necessary for meaning; [ ] = reconstructions, or suggested meanings helpful for comprehension, or to insert explanatory comments. A single

Arabic term may be transposed into English by melding two words with an asterisk (*ʿaql* 'intelligence*comprehension'), or a notion expressed by use of the back-slash (*jahl* 'ignorance\folly'). The asterisk * is also used for marking the divisions within poetic verses. In an *isnād* 'chain of transmission', the ascending links to a higher authority in the chain are indicated by }, eg. Abān b. Abī ʿAyyāsh } Anas b. Mālik } the Prophet. The use of > in references indicates the same text repeated in later sources.

Cross-references are given by chapter & section numbers, eg. ch.3 §II, or by translated report number, eg. ch.2 #15. Since we concentrate on the transformations within one main trajectory of traditions in early Islamic thought, namely the approximately thirty *ḥadīth* about the creation of *al-ʿaql* herein termed the "*Aqbil!* report", these traditions are numbered consecutively throughout the six chapters.

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INTRODUCTION

SPECTRUM OF THE NOTION OF al-*ʿAQL* IN EARLY *ḤADĪTH*.[1]

The notion of *ʿaql* was complex in the *Jāhiliyyah* and in early Islam. There exists a host of differing post-Islamic definitions and contradictory pronouncements (*qawl*, pl. *aqwāl*), yielding meanings which diverge or overlap. Early Muslim employment may be roughly divided into two groupings. In the first group at least three concurrent usages reflect an archaic stage of employment stemming from *Jāhilī* Arabia. The second grouping covers domains of usage reflecting first and second century AH Islamic employment. Qur'ānic usage bridges the two groupings. Particular meanings may exhibit a continuum of significance, while others are ruptures or oscillate between poles. During the first two centuries AH, certain meanings dwindle or increase.

OLD-ARAB EMPLOYMENT :

ONE. Concrete & material: Centering on 'Restraint & Protection'. *ʿAql* was traditionally held to be derived from the hobbling cord (*ʿiqāl*), ie. the physical act of binding the camel (*ʿaqaltu l-baʿīra*); syns. *qayyada, ḥabasa, manaʿa*. The infinitive *ʿaqlun* denotes the bloodwit (*diyah*): "*ʿaqaltu l-qatīla* I gave the bloodwit for the slain man" [or "I

1. Only the chief lines of meaning for the term *ʿaql* are given to clarify the comprehension of our study. Certain labels assigned to particular meanings for *ʿaql* are not very satisfactory. References are absent or kept to an absolute minimum; see the Bibliography (I. Arabic) for full sources.

prevented the slain victim from avenging himself on me or my kin"], & "*ʿaqaltu ʿan fulān* I gave the bloodwit in his [my kinsman the slayer's] stead"; cf. the institutions of *diyāt* & *ʿāqilah* in early *fiqh*. This ancient etymological interpretation may not be very relevant to the range of abstract meanings which became common by the second century AH.

An allied meaning appears to be that of 'Ascent', connoting 'high*lofty' (*rafʿ*): infinitive *ʿaqlun* = inaccessible high peak or mountain fort (*ḥiṣn*; eg. *ʿĀqil* = Mt. of the Kinda kings in central Najd[2]); & *ʿāqil* = ibex (+ his *maʿqil**ʿaql* 'refuge*asylum' in a *jabal*). Perhaps supported by the simultaneous emergence of an abstraction of meaning in the sense of 'ideal, eminent, choice, precious': *ʿaqīlat al-baḥr* = pearl; *ʿaqīlat al-qawm* & *ʿaqīl* = chief; *ʿaqā'ilu l-kalām* = excellent speech.

[The following two old-Arab abstract meanings possess dimensions reflecting ancient Near Eastern Wisdom experience. There is a strong likelihood these *ʿaql*-notions already possessed elements of 'moral' significance, ie. the value system exemplified among the *Jāhilī* Arabs.]

TWO. Abstract: (basically) 'Mind*intelligence', the practical worldly-wisdom & prudent conduct of life affairs involving *tadbīr* 'foresight', and *iṣlāḥ al-māl* 'proper disposition of wealth*property'. This extended to include decorum & sociability (*mudārāt al-nās* & *mujāmalah* 'comely behavior'). A corollary meaning was 'cunning intelligence'

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2. G. Olinder, "The Kings of Kinda of the Family of Akil al-Murar," Lunds Universitets Årsskrift NS 1/23/6 (1927).

or skillful-ingenuity (*dahā', zakin*) in the pursuit of self-interest, even involving guile & deceit; and the notion that the *ʿāqil* 'sagacious*intelligent man' does not let himself be deceived in commercial transactions (ie. *ghabn al-ʿaql* 'defraudation of intelligence').

This employment is imprecise and shifting. Differing views were expressed on "nature vs. nurture": over the degree to which *ʿaql* is inborn, instinctive & natural (*jiblah*, *ṭabʿ*, *sajiyyah*, ...; cf. *fiṭnah* 'native sagacity'), or is acquired & tempered by experience (eg. the old maxim "*al-ʿaqlu bi-l-tajārib* 'wisdom*understanding' is gained by repeated trials"). *ʿAql* is often synonymous or parallel with human apprehending and perceptive functions, being linked with particular bodily organs (brain, heart, ear, tongue). Various dimensions include:

a. 'consciousness' or sane-reason & right-mind possessed by all mature adults (*bulūgh al-ʿaql* 'age of majority), subject to diminution or increase and waning in old age.; cf. *muṣāb* & *junūn* 'insanity'; & *dhahāb al-ʿaql* 'loss of reason*consciousness'; + *ziyādah fī l-ʿaql* 'increase in intelligence\sound-mind'.

b. 'mental-acuity', or sound reasoning and judgement, syns. *ra'y, dhakā', faṭin* (sometimes in the brain); also sound deliberation (*j(aw)dat al-rawiyyah*), and discernment (eg. *khayru l-sharrayn* choosing the best of two evils). This meaning embraces a form of basic 'empirical-logic', eg. al-iṣābatu *bi-l-*

ẓann 'hitting the mark by thoughtful-considering'.

c. 'adamant-mind' or firm resolve & strength of purpose, syns. *ʿazm & ḥazm; ʿuqdah*. This involves the subordination of wayward emotions & desires to one's will, and was thought to be weak in most women (dubbed *nāqiṣāt al-ʿuqūl* 'deficient in prudential-mind' to refrain from what allures them).

d. 'nobility of mind-character', as a mark of eminence, thus serving as a parallel or replacement for *ḥilm* 'forebearing-mind'. It was linked with the 'causes of glorying' (*maʿālī*) & chiefly-dignity (*su'dad*); also associated with outward marks of distinction (eg. fancy appearance/*hay'ah*, & noblebearing/*nubl*).

e. *ʿAql* possesed an important link with 'eloquence', eg. *bayān & ẓarf* (+ *mulaḥ* 'witticisms'); cf. the maxim "*jamāl al-rijāl fī ʿuqūlihim* men's beauty lies in their minds". The nexus of tongue + heart (*lisān & ʿaql\qalb*, eg. the ancient maxim "*al-mar' bi-aṣgharayhi lisānuhu wa qalbuhu\maʿqūluhu* Man comprises his two smallest parts, his tongue and his heart*mind" = the moral of Luqmān's classic wisdom tale), shades off into a corollary usage where *ʿaql* connoted 'ideal-mind*person' (parallel with the notion of *al-mar' & murū'ah* 'Man-hood'[3]).

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3. That is, *murū'ah* as a physical quality denoting bodily & material circumstances, and\or as a moral quality connoting 'character' & one's manifestations towards others; see B.Fares, "Murū'a", E.I.[2] VII 636-8. Thus al-Ṣādiq } Prophet: "*man lam yuḥsin waṣiyyatahu ʿinda l-mawt kāna naqṣan fī murū'atihi wa ʿaqlih* One who did not properly prepare his will upon his impending death is deficient in his 'body' and 'mind' [ie. physical condition & ideal character]"; Furūʿ VII 2 #1.

[Cf. the nexus of *ʿaql* with hearing and sight (*samʿ* & *baṣar*), as when alcohol overcomes or wipes out one's senses and sensible conduct (wine = "*khāmara l-ʿaql*"; & *al-khamr* = "*tahdimu murū'atahu*", Furūʿ VI 243 #1). Also the *ḥadīth*: "*murū'atu l-mu'min\l-rajul ʿaqluhu* A man's ideal 'mode-of-outward-behavior' lies in his 'ideal mind*character'"; Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Makārim al-Akhlāq #1; Ibn Ḥibbān, Rawḍat al-ʿUqalā' 229; & B.Fares, E.I.² VII 637a. Or the early *qawl*: "*lā murū'ata li-man lā ʿaqla la-hu* There is no 'ideal-character' for one without 'comely-behavior'"; imam al-Kāẓim, in Tuḥaf 287.

Compare *ʿaqīlah* 'chaste noble-woman', ie. ideal woman embodying ideals of chastity & fidelity (= nobility & beauty + moral character); cf. J. Chelhod, "al-Mar'a - 2. the Arab woman in customary law and practice", E.I.² VI 475a & 478a).]

This close association of good behaviour + good character, together making up 'intelligence*mind', clearly exhibits the old Wisdom character of this *ʿaql*-notion wherein the rectitude of the wise and their seemly behavior brings worldly and social success.

An important nexus of terms centers on the equivalence of the plurals *aḥlām, albāb, ʿuqūl* (*dhawū l-aḥlām\ʿuqūl*), where the Heart = 'mind' or inner-person. Al-Shāfiʿī quotes the early maxim: "*al-labīb al-ʿāqil al-faṭin al-mutaghāfil;*" here *al-labīb al-ʿāqil* = 'the sensible intelligent person', ie. one of sound sense and good character. The background to this notion is visible in the *qawl* by the first Umayyad Caliph Muʿāwiyah (probably repeating an old maxim): "*al-*

ʿaqlu mikyālun thulthāhu fiṭnah wa thulthuhu taghāful 'Proper-decorum'\good manners is a finite measure, 2/3 sagacity*intelligence and 1/3 purposeful-unmindfulness."[4]

<u>THREE</u>. Heeding*comprehending meaning of speech

(cf. ancient wisdom nexus of tongue & ear + heart).

Exemplified in the hearing-formula (German '*weckruf*'): "Listen and Understand!" (*Isma ʿ qawlī wa iʿqil ʿannī*), "Be Heedful and Bear in Mind!" (*Iḥfaẓū wa ʿū*), employed by the orators, sages, and diviners; syns. *fahm, fiqh, ḥifẓ, samʿ, waʿy*. This is a less ambiguous more precise signification: paying attention + grasping meaning. In sapiential contexts it demands the acceptance of instruction, chastisement, or exhortation offered by the *ḥukamā'*/sages (*ʿaql* as internal *zājir* 'chider, restrainer'; ie. conscience). This entails applying-acting on the instruction or reproof: to hear is to obey (*samʿan wa ṭāʿatan!*). Here, *ʿaql* is centered in the heart and is often linked with alert silence\listening. *Maʿqūl* 'mind*understanding' or comprehending faculty of the whole human person (as a *maṣdar mīmī*), was said to be synonymous for this sense of *ʿaql*, though this was disputed.

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4. *Taghāful* as 'forbearance' in the face of other's unseemly behavior; here *ʿaql* is aligned with the old-Arab notion of 'forebearing-mind' (*ḥilm*) esteemed by the nobility as a mark of leadership. The meaning of Muʿāwiyah's *qawl* finds support in al-Ṣādiq's form of the saying: "*ṣalāḥi ḥāli l-taʿāyush wa l-taʿāshur mil'u mikyālin thulthāhu fiṭnah wa thulthuhu taghāful* The amelioration*rectitude of the circumstances of sociable life and of consorting with one's fellows is a quantity whose measure is..."; <u>Tuḥaf</u> 264. Compare early maxims of the type "*mujāmalatu\mudārātu l-nāsi niṣfu\thulthu l-ʿaql* courteous-amiability towards people is half\a third of good manners*decorum."

QUR'ĀNIC EMPLOYMENT :

In certain respects (a.) the Qur'ānic usage bridges the two groupings (old-Arab — post-Islamic); while in other respects (b.) the Qur'ān represents an interruption and re-orientation. The verbal form *ya'qilūna* played an important role in the Qur'ānic arsenal of polemic & persuasion.

(a). Suasion (Two aspects). 1) Condemnation: you obstinately refuse to 'hear\understand'. This applies to the *kāfir* lacking comprehension or adequate intelligence (as beasts are deaf & dumb); and to a scoffing refusal to apply one's intelligence in comprehending revelation, accepting guidance, and changing behavior ("*a-fa-lā ta'qilūna*?!").

2) Approbation: those who 'take heed' and correctly 'cognise', grasp meaning and take it to heart\bear it in mind. This aspect of 'suasion' amplifies and extends old-Arab usage, esp. the hearing-formula. In this sense, the Qur'ān employs *ya'qilūna* in conjuction with key terms (*'ilm, sam' & baṣar, īmān, dhikr, yaqīn*), which opens out onto its doctrine of :

FOUR. (b). The Divine Āyāt 'Signs*Symbols' involving God's providential rule in creation and the demand placed on humans accompanying revelation (ie. the evidentiary role of the *āyāt*; cf. the increasingly important notion of God's *ḥujjah* 'decisive argument' against man). *'Aql* here connotes 'Mind*Understanding', within the perspective of revealed guidance and the religious distinction between this present

worldly life vs. the Hereafter. This aspect clearly represents a rupture with old-Arab employment, and is to be viewed as part of a continuum with Biblicist thought, in particular the 'creation theology' of Wisdom teachings (eg. the prominence of the 'argument from design' in the Qur'ān). Further dimensions of the doctrine of the Āyāt include:

a. The notion of a cognitive elite, the *ulū l-albāb* "intelligent persons, possessors of understanding" (= *dhawū l-ʿuqūl, qawm yaʿqilūna,* & *ulū l-abṣār*), properly heeding and responding to (obeying) divinely revealed initiative and guidance. They are distinguished from others by their knowledge, wisdom, and God-mindfulness (*ʿilm, ḥikmah, taqwā*).

b. The existence of a cognitive scale forming a hierarchy of response and of understanding on the part of the faithful (*tafakkur* & *tadabbur* → *ʿaql* → *dhikr* & *yaqīn*, pondering → comprehending → remembrance & certitude), and privy to knowledge and special grace here and in the Hereafter. Stress is placed on the cognitive dimension of faith (*Īmān*).

- [The early Successor & convert from Judaism Kaʿb al-Aḥbār termed the Qur'ān to be "*fahmu l-ʿaqli* the comprehending by the intelligence" (?).[5] Later second

5. Opaque in meaning; seemingly to be taken as "*al-fahamu fī l-ʿaqli* the quick-grasping-of-meaning by [taking place in] the intelligence", within the context of God's revelation addressed to humans. This *iḍāfah* may be variously construed: "comprehension comprising the intelligence", & "comprehending produced by the intelligence". Taking this *iḍāfah* simply as qualitative & possession ("comprehension possessed by\belonging to *al-ʿaql*") may align it with the immediately following description in Kaʿb's saying of the Qur'ān as *nūru l-ḥikmati wa yanābīʿu l-ʿilm*... "the light of wisdom, and the well-springs of knowledge". It is difficult to align *ʿaql* here alongside of *ḥikmah* & *ʿilm* as a quality of God; rather the three terms reflect benefits accruing to humans when they "take upon themselves the Qur'ān"; see al-Muḥāsibī, Fahm al-Qur'ān 288; al-Dārimī, Sunan II 433-4 #1.

century Iraqi Qadarī reports state that the Qur'ān was "revealed in-accordance-with-the-requirements-of [or 'through-the-agency-of'] *ʿaql* (*bi-l-ʿaql*)", and that the Prophet was "dispatched *bi-l-ʿaql*". Here, *ʿaql* should probably be read as 'wisdom*understanding'.]

Within certain circles, the Qur'ānic employment was immediately succeeded by a deepening process of abstraction and spiritualisation of the spectrum of *ʿaql*-notions, prompted mainly by #3 & #4 and matched by increasing input from extra-Muslim teachings (mainly Biblicist & Īranian).

POST-ISLAMIC EMPLOYMENT :

<u>FIVE</u>. 'Moral Intelligence': involving both good-manners & good-upbringing (*murū'ah & adab*), as well as the divinely bestowed innate character traits (*ḥusn al-khuluq*). A defining basis of this *ʿaql*-domain may be characterized as: 'Knowledge - Virtue - Action' (= Being).

This dominating range of meaning had been partly prepared or anticipated within old-Arab usage: specifically in the pronouncements of certain Jāhilī poets and *ḥukamā'* (eg. Aktham b. Ṣayfī, or the "Luqmān" corpus). It was reinforced by Qur'ānic employment, and massively supported and extended with Biblicist & Near Eastern Wisdom teachings. So this ethical significance represents both a measure of continuity, and a rupture integrating many fresh elements, primarily through the medium of *ḥadīth*.

<u>a.</u> Early on *ʿaql* had been linked with pre-eminence & glory (*karam, ḥasab, su'dad*) within the Muslim displacement of old-Arab values. Increasingly, in numerous *aqwāl* of Successors and Companions, *ʿaql* ceases to be defined in terms

of worldly wisdom or glory, meanings which nevertheless persisted well into the second century. A significant cluster of parallel supporting notions dramatically expand the ethical dimension, being glorified in the "Praise of ʿAql": eg. the basic polarity of *ʿaql* vs. *hawā* 'appetitive*desire'; "*ḥusn al-ʿaql* the goodliness of Mind*character;" and "*faḍl al-ʿaql* the surpassing-merit of moral-intelligence."

b. The 'fool' or ignoramus (*aḥmaq* > *jāhil*) now became defined by religious-ethical criteria centering on faith, obedience, and the Hereafter. An important dimension is the polarity of *kayyis* & *ʿāqil* vs. *mughtarr* & *jāhil* (dupes of this world pursuing wealth & power), or the morally wise vs. the morally stupid. Lack of *ʿaql* could be viewed as an unfortunate natural shortcoming (al-Bāqir: "*lā muṣības ka-ʿadam al-ʿaql*", Tuḥaf 208), or on a par with sin (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī: *jāhil* = *munāfiq* & *fājir*).

c. The center-of-gravity of early Islamic ethical teachings was the cultivation of the virtuous character traits (*akhlāq, khiṣāl, maḥāsin, faḍā'il*). The infinitive *ʿaql* becomes ubiquitous in the sense of an essential inborn trait of human character (*aṣl, ṭabʿ, gharīzah, sajiyyah, jiblah*) infused into the mind by God. In fact, *ʿaql* as a *khuluq* & *khaṣlah* was the chief of human traits ("*afḍalu mā uʿṭiya l-insān* the best thing given to humans"), and the prime-glory or 'adornment' (*zīnah*) of the human person. This echoes the ancient motif of Wisdom as a robe of glory, or 'tie\bond' & 'yoke', as well as the sum of virtues.

d. *'Aql* was commonly associated in three-numerical sayings in a trio of qualities such as 'modest-diffidence' & 'faith-obedience' (*ḥayā' & dīn*); or 'lenient-forbearance' & knowledge (*ḥilm & 'ilm*); or 'abstemiousness' & certainty (*wara' & yaqīn*); and with certain cardinal virtues including alert silence (*ṣamt*), moral discrimination\discernment (*baṣīrah*), renunciation (*zuhd*), longsuffering (*ṣabr*), and God-fearingness (*khawf*)[6]. The intimate nexus with the *akhlāq* was amplified in decadic Listing of the traits (Islamic decalogues) offering didactic summaries of the virtues in the reformation of character. These lists were expanded to depict *'aql* as the chief of the traits ("*amīr junūdih* commander of his troops") at war with the corresponding evil traits (here *'aql* = 'dispassion', vs. *jahl, nafs, hawā*), offering a basic ethic of purgative psychology.

e. *'Aql* early on came to serve as the pivot/*quṭb* of the individual religious enterprise, namely that expression of Muslim spirituality stressing the personal relationship to God in worshipful ritual and service (*'ibādah*) and interior disciplines of knowledge-training promoting the reformation of character and integrity of being. Thus the *ḥikmah* slogan "*mā 'ubida llāhu bi-shay'in afḍala min al-'aql\fiqhin fī dīn* God is not worshipped by anything more surpassing than intelligence*understanding (with regard to faith*obedience)"

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6. Eg. imam Mūsā al-Kāẓim instructing Hishām b. al-Ḥakam: "*lam yakhaf Allāha man lam ya'qil 'an Allāh* Whoever does not fear God does not understand-of-God"; Tuḥaf 286; + Zayn al-'Ābidīn's statement, below n.13. Cf. the ancient maxim: "God-fearingness is the 'first-part'\beginning of wisdom (*ra'su l-ḥikmah*)."

[later countered by the guardians of Tradition in their maxim "*mā ʿubida llāhu bi-shay'in afḍala min al-ḥadīth*"[7]). *ʿAql* as denoting 'Moral Intelligence' actively contributes to faith, certainty, and self-understanding (= "*ʿaql dīnī*" - first used by al-Muḥāsibī\al-Anṭākī in K. al-Khalwah), indicating willingness & alacrity in accepting guidance, warning and self-transforming chastisement, seen as comprising true 'intelligence'.

f. *ʿAql* is the locus of examination of conscience and self-scrutiny (*muḥāsabat al-nafs*, the second of the 'Four Moments' of the *ʿāqil* in Wahb b. Munabbih's popular compilation of Ḥikmat Āl Dāwūd\The Wisdom of the Family of David). It is the primary faculty upon which the salvational outcome of human affairs revolves ("*awwalu umūri l-ʿibād*", "*ra'su l-umūr*"). By means of *ʿaql*, paradise is attained (al-Ṣādiq: "...*mā uktusiba bi-hi l-Jinān*"). It functions as man's 'guide' and 'support' or 'overseer' (*dalīl, qiyam & qayyim*) قيم in his inner religious life, sometimes portrayed at once as the Way, the Goal and the Guide.

g. *ʿAql* is divinely created and inequitably distributed in allotted shares (*qisam, ashum, ḥuẓūẓ*; + the notion of traits as *manā'iḥ* 'bestowals', divine gifts). This aspect became extended to indicate a divinely bestowed merit*grace (*faḍl*, whether this-worldly and\or other-worldly), in particular as the surpassing token of the ethical and cognitive

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7. The Kufan tradent al-Wakīʿ b. al-Jarrāḥ (d.197/812-3), in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Sharaf Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth 81 #174.

elite. The widespread notion of surpassingness & dissimilarity in people's *'uqūl* (*tafḍīl & tafāḍul, tafāwut*) represents an early Islamic transformation or mitigation of deeply rooted predestinarian ideas (eg. the unequal or capricious apportioning of *arzāq & ājāl*). This '*tafḍīlī*' motif was developed by Wahb in the 1st century, being subscribed to by both predestinarians and by moderate partisans of *qadar* (= man's capacity to effect his own acts implicated in determinism *vs.* voluntarism).[8] Endowment with *'aql* is both a special token of the human condition as well as a responsibility entailing consequences (reward & punishment).

h. A central dynamic continued to be the human response to divine address ('comprehension of meaning').[9] This lies

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8. The focus of debate in first century theological disputes over *qadar* was "the question of the origin and responsibility for man's evil actions"; J. van Ess, "Early Development of *Kalām*" 113. Van Ess summarizes early Qadarī teaching, deduced from the rebuttal by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah written ca. 75 AH, as holding that *'aql* "reason is therefore given to everybody, as *fiṭra*, as his nature by which he becomes *a priori* aware of God's existence and of his own createdness" (ibid. 114). See text in Van Ess, Anfänge muslimischer Theologie 35f., + analysis 12f.; + his remarks in "The Beginnings of Islamic Theology" 87f.; & "Ḳadariyya", E.I.[2] IV 369a.

9. Eg. the 1st century Successor 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn *Zayn al-'Ābidīn* defined the right due to the seeker-of-counsel (*al-mustanṣiḥ*) incumbent on the counsellor (*al-nāṣiḥ*) to be:
"...that you render sincere counsel to him in accordance with the proper manner which you consider to be in his best interest to bear, that you offer (advice) at the appropriate time [or: in an agreeable manner/*yukhriju al-mukhrija*] which is smooth to his ear, and that you address him with speech which his *'aql* can endure*sustain/*mā yuṭīquhu 'aqluh*. For every *'aql* there is a category of speech which makes (one's *'aql*) to acknowledge, (or) which alienates him (*inna li-kulli 'aqlin ṭabaqatan min al-kalāmi yu'arrifuhu [ya'rifuhu?] wa yajtanibuhu*). And let your procedure be one of sympathetic understanding/*al-raḥmah*"; Tuḥaf 193.

behind the widespread motto "*ʻaqala ʻan Allāh* comprehending of God", wherein *ʻaql* represents human intelligence heeding divine guidance through acting in obedience ("*man ʻamila bi-ṭāʻati llāhi*"). A fundamental motif involved the weight to be assigned to divine initiative or human initiative in heeding Truth or responding to the call of revelation. This motif experienced a rich elaboration when *ʻaql* became infused with issues of theological controversy, as displayed by the elaborations of the "*Aqbil! Adbir!*" reports on God's creation of *ʻaql*. The divinely provided endowment of *ʻaql* functioned as God's 'decisive-argument' (*ḥujjat Allāh*) against humans in a forensic eschatological context (eg. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; & with varying emphasis, al-Bāqir & al-Ṣādiq). Only those possessing heart-cognition truly 'hear & obey', even if they do not exceed others in outward deeds. Here, the divisive issues of *qadar*, of theodicy, of reward and punishment (*thawāb & ʻiqāb*), of works and faith, as well as prophetology, were swept up into the enlarging sphere of the *ʻaql*-notions (eg. the Qadarī formula "*man ʻamila bi-ṭāʻati llāh*" = "*maʻṣiyat Iblīs* disobeying the Devil").

SIX. (a wisdom dimension): 'Intelligence*Understanding' (syns. *fahm, fiqh, maʻrifah*); also 'Perceptive-Insight'. This range of meanings partially overlaps #4 & #5 above, and leads into #7 below.

The primary focus of this employment was by the *ḥukamā'* 'mystic-sages' (also *ḥulamā', ʻuqalā' & ʻāqilūn*; later *awliyā'* God's 'Friends') among the early *ṣāliḥūn* and *zuhhād*

'ascetic*mystics' (later "*ṣūfī*", particularly Iraqi); and by the Ḥusaynid ʿAlid *Imāms* of the Shīʿah. These circles constituted the cognitive elite of early Muslim generations, and possessed their own comprehension of knowledge (*ʿilm & maʿrifah*[10]) and of praxis (*ʿamal*). Often they were at odds with competing trends laying claim to knowledge\authority: the legists (*fuqahā'*), tradents (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*), or dogmatic theologians (*mutakallimūn*).

Fresh themes were introduced through the medium of *aqwāl* many of which became elevated into prophetic *ḥadīth*, as well as in more complex genres (teaching-tales, wisdom discourses, & mythic narratives) marked by an intensifying spiritualisation of the *ʿaql*-notions. Not surprisingly, the fresh motifs are largely Biblicist in inspiration (eg. "grains of sand"; 50 gates of understanding; Throne, Angel, & Light); yet Hellenistic and Zoroastrian elements also surface, indicative of the expanding Islamic cultural synthesis. These motifs embrace :

<u>a.</u> *ʿAql* provides Saving knowledge (*ʿilm & baṣar; + najāt* 'deliverance') of ultimate benefit (*nafʿ*) for human striving (*ijtihād*). The practise of knowledge benefits one's self as well as others; without it *ʿilm* can be injurious. *ʿAql* as Insight and Understanding is simultaneously the guide, the path (*al-maḥajjat al-wāḍiḥah*), and the goal of the aspirant,

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10. Cf. Wahb: the *mu'min* "...*zahada fī kulli fānin fastakmala l-ʿaqla wa raghiba fī kulli shay'in bāqin fa-ʿaqala l-maʿrifata* he forsakes every transitory thing and so perfects the understanding, and he covets every thing of lastingness and thus comprehends true realization"; <u>ʿAql</u> 64-5 #97 > <u>Ḥilyat</u> IV 68 (better text).

over and above assiduous outward works springing from blind-faith or zealous literalism (*al-ṣā'im al-qā'im bi-l-layl*).

b. The salvific guiding function of *ʿaql* entails hierarchical levels of attainment of paradisial degrees (*darajāt, qurbah*), matched by an infinite gradation of human endowment (*"lā ghāyata la-hu"*), or of divine grace (*faḍl*). One widespread motif was the material distribution of discrete shares of *ʿaql* in varying measures, with Prophets (& Imāms) allotted the weightiest portion. This entails the sanctifying activity of *ʿaql*, linked directly with Divine Wisdom*Intelligence present in creation[11], and\or with God's Throne. The identification of the salvific Guide with the Prophet Muḥammad, who received the largest share of *ʿaql* outstripping all previous prophets, was enriched in Shīʿī

11. Thus Wahb b. Munabbih reports that the angel who spoke to ʿUzayr (Ezra) said: "God the Exalted crowned His 'wise rule*government' with 'understanding', and granted it [ie. *al-ʿaql*] an adornment and an 'order*rule' (...*kallala ḥukmahu bi-l-ʿaql* [*ḥukm* = Wisdom?, or *kallala ḥilmahu bi-l-ʿaql*, supported by several Mss.], *wa jaʿala la-hu zīnatan wa niẓāman*..."); al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Sīrat al-Awliyā', ed. Radtke in Drei Schriften 128 §158 lines 8-10. Wahb appears to align *ʿaql* as the surpassing virtue marking the truly obedient in every age, with God's providential rule & wise design (or with God's *ḥilm* 'Mind'). In Biblicist prophetic-apocalyptic tradition where the theme of the rejection and vindication of God's wisdom is developed in texts such as I Enoch 42, the 'Q' materials, & John 1:1-18, Wisdom has been present since the foundation of the world through its representatives linking all generations. Wisdom sends the prophets and the wise and is in turn vindicated by them, not replacing human agency.

Contrast the theological-rationalist meaning in the question posed of God by ʿUzayr, found in an exegesis ascribed by the 2nd century Imāmī theologian Muḥammad b. Abī ʿUmayr to ...} Ibn ʿAbbās: "*yā rabb innī naẓartu fī jamīʿi umūrika wa aḥkāmihā fa-ʿaraftu ʿadlaka bi-ʿaqlī*..."; al-Rāwandī, Qiṣaṣ 240 #281.

Imāmology (*a'immah* = *ḥujaj Allāh*), becoming subsumed within the *Ṣūfī* notion of the hierarchy of Saints.

Contrary to Goldziher's influential view (ZA XXII/1908/ 317f.), the 2nd century Syrian and Iraqi Qadarīs did not construe *ʿaql* in terms of a Neoplatonic 'First Emanation'. For that matter nor did the early Muʿtazilah theologians, with the possible exception of certain *ghālī* Muʿtazilis touched by extremist Shīʿī currents. Such an employment of *ʿaql* belongs to the 3rd-4th century *Falāsifah* (al-Kindī, Isaac Israeli, & al-Fārābī), and to popular Neoplatonising circles (Ismāʿīlism, the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*). Far more prevalent during the 2nd century was the impact upon *ʿaql* of pre-creation Wisdom (*ḥokhmāh & sophia;* & Iranian *xrad*).

Increasingly significant during the 2nd century is :

SEVEN. Spiritual*Noetic[12] : 'Mind' or 'cognitive prehension', involving the instinctive, affective, and intellectual parts of the whole human person yet not confined to them, being greater than the sum of their parts.

A relatively early formulation is found in the notion of *ʿaql* as "a Light in the Heart *nūrun fī l-qalb*" discerning truth from falsehood\vanity (+ cf. Q *al-Ḥajj* 22:46). *ʿAql* is also "a lamp (*sirāj*) in the midst of the body", and is depicted as man's "illuminator *mubṣiruhu*". The most meaningful precedent appears to be the Patristic-ascetic

12. Perhaps Gk. *nepsis* 'attentiveness*watchfulness', 'consciouṣ-awareness', or 'mindfulness', offers a more adequate concept for what is intended here: 'Spiritual*Neptic', more rarified than the density of reason or 'thought', & conveyed partly by 'intellect' (*noús*).

teaching on *noús* as the luminous "eye of the heart*soul" linked with *theoria* 'vision' (yet cf. Persian *cašm ī jān*, the organ for vision of *mēnōg* 'invisible-spirit' as the supreme religious achievment). This discloses an illuminative cognition (*ma'rifah*) arising where divine and human volition intersect. This light-motif allied with an 'anthropic' aspect represents a burgeoning trajectory fruitful for later spiritual teachings.

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The sixth imam of the Shī'ah, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (d.148/765), inherited all of the above domains of *'aql*-notions, and assisted in propelling the *ḥikmah*-employment of *'aql* beyond dogmatic theological issues into the sphere of purgative mysticism centered on the ethical traits and the redirection of the passions. Al-Ṣādiq discriminates between two basic aspects of *al-khuluq* 'innate trait', one being intentional (*niyyah*) and the other inborn (*sajiyyah*), with *niyyah* surpassing *sajiyyah* since it entails going against one's given nature[13] and intentional suffering.

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13. "...The *ṣāḥib al-sajiyyah* is naturally disposed towards a 'course-of-behaviour' (*majbūlun 'alā amrin*) which he is incapable of doing otherwise; while the *ṣāḥib al-niyyah* constrains himself to patiently suffer obedience (*yataṣabbara 'alā l-ṭā'ati taṣabburan*), and this is more surpassing"; Tuḥaf 275.

Cf. the description by his grandfather *Zayn al-'Ābidīn* of the *'āqil* resisting the desire to eat his fill (*qaswat al-biṭnah & sukr al-shab'*) and training his self by hunger, as a race horse is conditioned by being underfed for forty days (*taḍmīr al-khayl*) enabling it to outstrip others: "...*anna l-'āqil 'an Allāh al-khā'if min-hu al-'āmil la-hu la-yumarrinu nafsahu wa yu'awwiduhā l-jū'a ḥattā mā tashtāqa ilā l-shab', wa kadhālika tuḍammiru l-khayl li-sibāqi l-rihān*"; ibid. 196.

His transformation of the *Aqbil!* report on the creation, opposition, and empowerment of *ʿAql & Jahl* (intelligence & ignorance, or wisdom & folly) brings into intimate relation with *ʿaql* the complex of ideas on *maʿrifah*, Light and Throne, prophetology, and most significantly the Adam-Iblīs myth.[14] Integration of this anthroposophic dimension within the *ʿaql* creation-narrative inaugurates a trajectory with significant ramifications for later teachings (eg. the 3rd century Ṣūfī al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī). The profoundly self-reflective anthropological character of Jaʿfar's wisdom teaching extends from the individual to the organization of the community, and emphasizes the multiple functions of the 'Imām of Guidance'.

In other materials assigned to al-Ṣādiq, *ʿaql* is aligned with spirit (*rūḥ*) in the synergy of divine and human energies, as in the notion of 'divine support' (*ta'yīd al-ʿaql*). This buttressing of human *ʿaql* facilitates access to a higher faculty of 'enlightened Mind*consciousness' in a process of co-operation with divine intelligence (cf. the 'Omni-Intelligence' *al-ʿaql al-akbar* of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī). The purification of one's cognition brings in its train a pentad of higher perceptive faculties.

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14. In the Iraqi Ṣūfī conventicle on ʿAbbādān island in the *Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab* founded by pupils of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī around the mid-2nd century, *ʿaql* was aligned with *maʿṣiyat Iblīs* and with Throne light (eg. reports in Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar's Kitāb al-ʿAql). Yet its explicit and central identification with Adam in the Throne-realm appears to be original with Jaʿfar, being consonant with major facets of early Shīʿī religious thought as enunciated within circles around imams al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq.

The most rich and significant early Muslim employment of *ʿaql* to connote "*noús*" — not construed as 'reason' or 'intelligence' (*logiki & dianoia; ratio*), but rather with a sense cultivated by Monastic spirituality in Greek and Syriac, as well as in Oriental Hellenistic mysticism, namely 'Mind' or 'conscious-awareness' [= 'cognitive prehension'] — appears to be that by Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.

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ABBREVIATIONS

(Full particulars are found in the Bibliography.)

'Aql = Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, al-'Aql wa Faḍluh, ed. M.S. Ibrāhīm.
Concordance = A.J. Wensinck, et.al., Concordance et indices de la tradition Musulmane.
E.I.[2] = The Encyclopaedia of Islam New Ed., Leiden, 1960- .
E.Ir. = Encyclopaedia Iranica, ed. Ehsan Yarshater.
F.Nadīm = Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, ed. Riḍā Tajaddud.
F.Ṭūsī = Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī, al-Fihrist.
Furū' = al-Kulaynī, al-Furū' min al-Kāfī, ed. al-Ghaffārī.
GAL = C. Brockelmann, Geschichte des arabischen Litteratur.
GAS = F. Sezgin, Geschichte des arabischen Schriftums.
Ḥilyat = Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī, Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'.
Ḥuffāẓ = al-Dhahabī, Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffaẓ, 4th ed.
'Ilal = Ibn Bābawayh *al-Ṣadūq*, 'Ilal al-Sharā'i'.
I'tizāl = Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī, al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, & al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī, Faḍl al-I'tizāl wa Ṭabaqāt al-Mu'tazilah.
Jarḥ = Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta'dīl, I-IX.
Kāmil = 'AbdAllāh Ibn 'Adiy, al-Kāmil fī Ḍu'afā' al-Rijāl.
Lexicon = E.W. Lane, An Arabic-English Lexicon.
Maḥāsin = Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Barqī, al-Maḥāsin.
Majrūḥīn = Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, Kitāb al-Majrūḥīn.
Maṭālib = Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, al- Maṭālib al-'Āliyyah.
Mīzān = al-Dhahabī, Mīzān al-I'tidāl.
R.Kishshī = al-Kishshī\al-Ṭūsī, Ikhtiyār Ma'rifat al-Rijāl.
R.Najāshī = al-Najāshī, al-Rijāl.
R.Ṭūsī = Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī, al-Rijāl.
Ṣifat = Ibn al-Jawzī, Ṣifat al-Ṣafwah, 2nd ed.
SEI = The Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam.
Tahdhīb = Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb.
Tanqīḥ = al-Māmaqānī, Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl fī 'Ilm al-Rijāl.
Tawḥīd = Ibn Bābawayh *al-Ṣadūq*, Kitāb al-Tawḥīd.
Tanzīh = Ibn 'Arrāq al-Kinānī, Tanzīh al-Sharī'ah al-Marfū'ah.
T.Baghdād = al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Ta'rīkh Baghdād.
Theologie = Josef van Ess, Theologie und Gesellschaft.
Thiqāt = Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, Kitāb al-Thiqāt.
Tradition = G.H.A. Juynboll, Muslim Tradition.
Tuḥaf = Ibn Shu'bah al-Ḥarrānī, Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl.
Uṣūl = al-Kulaynī, al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī, ed. al-Ghaffārī.
Zwischen = J. van Ess, Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie.

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FOR LAURE AND RALPH

WITH GRATITUDE

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(Ja'far al-Ṣādiq): The Messenger of God *Ṣ* never spoke to mankind with the utmost degree of his understanding (*bi-kunhi 'aqlih*); but then the Messenger of God *Ṣ* said,

"We, the Company of the Prophets,
were bidden to speak to people
according to their measure of understanding
(*'alā qadri 'uqūlihim*)."

— Uṣūl I 23 #15 (cf. Maḥāsin 195 #17).

"Perplexity is the cause of research
al-ḥayrah 'illatu l-baḥth."

— Shiblī Shumayyil

PART I

THE CREATION OF *al-ʿAQL*.

1. The Creation Of *al-ʿAql* (Texts).

2. Salient Motifs.

3. *ʿAql* As First Creation.

4. Light And *al-ʿAql*.

Chapter 1

THE CREATION OF AL-ʿAQL (TEXTS)

> And if God had known any good in them, He would certainly have made them to understand/*la-asmaʿahum*; and if He (now) makes them heed/*law asmaʿahum*, they will turn away in aversion. Q *al-Anfāl* 8:23.

Undoubtedly the most influential yet controversial *ʿaql* report in Islamic tradition is the "*Aqbil! Adbir!* Come forward! Go back!" (or "Turn forward & Turn back", "Face forward & Face back")[1] report depicting God's creation and testing of *ʿaql*. Since this report aroused deep felt and widely varying reactions among Muslims both in the past and the present, and due to the confusing assessment of it by Occidental scholars, the earliest transmitted versions known to us shall be examined in some detail. In the first section of his article published in 1908, Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921) pointed to the importance which one form of this report assumed for esoteric and Hellenistic philosophically-tinged movements in Islamic thought.[2] The Hungarian savant quoted this report in a version often found in later Islamic literature: "*Awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-ʿaqlu* The first (thing) God created is *al-ʿaql*".[3] He awarded this form priority as the primitive or 'original' text ("seiner ursprünglichen Form"), treating as secondary the widely

attested verbal proposition: "*Lammā khalaqa llāhu l-ʿaqla* When God had created *al-ʿaql*",[4] which he deemed to be an attempt by orthodox critics to disguise or mitigate the original form.[5]

Interpreting the meaning of the "*Awwalu mā khalaqa*" form, and similar early reports, Goldziher observed :

> "One can not doubt that this saying stands under the influence of the notion of the 'Universal Intellect' (*Weltintellekt*) as the first intellectual substance emanating from the divine essence." (319, & cf. 318)

By translating *ʿaql* in this report as "intellect", Goldziher placed it within the ambience of Neoplatonic teachings which were received and propagated by so-called "free-thinkers", the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, the Ismāʿīliyyah, and Ṣūfīs, who imported their Plotinian construction into Islam (320: "ihren Islam plotinistisch konstruierten"). Yet he took care to note that the origin of this report was not actually derived from these circles, without offering a specific provenance or route through which this Plotinian notion infiltrated into early Islam.

A fundamental consideration which persuaded Goldziher and those following him to equate *ʿaql* = 'intellect' in this report was its perceived incompatibility with the Qur'ānic creation accounts wherein *ʿaql* plays no direct role, and its being seen as out of harmony with prevailing Islamic teach-

ings of the early period.[6] A decade before Goldziher, Isaac Eisenberg had suggested viewing a similar report in sapiential perspective against the background of Biblical Wisdom teachings, specifically Jewish mystical *Ḥokhmāh* speculations.[7] Both interpretations have merit with respect to the form "*Awwalu mā khalaqa*", yet Goldziher's 'neoplatonic element' has been more widely invoked over the course of this century than Eisenberg's thesis.[8] Nevertheless, one is continually confronted with a certain uneasy vagueness or hesitancy[9] when scholars seek to translate or interpret the term *ʿaql* in this and similar reports.

§I. THE *AQBIL! ADBIR!* REPORT

By examining the early *riwāyāt* and *mutūn* of this report culled from Sunnī and Shīʿī literature, it will become evident that the earlier form(s) all agree without exception on the verbal proposition: *Lammā khalaqa llāhu l-ʿaqla*. Furthermore, a persuasive case may be made that its meaning is quite in harmony with the modes of thought and expression prevailing around the turn of the 1st\2nd century AH, as well as with the religious and speculative concerns of that era. While the details of its elaboration and continuing adaptation over the course of the second century are intricate and often ambiguous, the basic outlines of its development can be sketched with fair probability. In order to

grasp these developments one must delve into the technicalities of *ḥadīth* transmission in early Islam.

Anticipating our results, this *ʿaql* report is properly to be seen as the meditation of circles around key first century Successors — notably Kurayb *mawlā* Ibn ʿAbbās (Medinah), al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (Medinah & Baṣrah), and Muḥammad al-Bāqir (Medinah & Kūfah). Its ascription to the Prophet is extremely improbable, technically a 'lie' (*kadhib*) or a falsified ascription (*mawḍūʿ*) in the terminology of the traditionist critics. Very little can be said about its alleged attribution to certain Companions, other than their symbolic function of legitimation. Nevertheless, a definite link to the late first century Ḥijāz is not to be dismissed. It is both possible and plausible that the early form(s) of this report reworked several archaic *ʿaql* sayings of the wisdom type (*ḥikam*) reflecting old-Arab, Qur'ānic, and Biblicist elements.

Early second century Syrian and Iraqi circles received it and 'improved' it, adapting it to their own contemporary concerns. The most significant enrichments of meaning were accomplished by Basran ascetics (*ṣāliḥūn, zuhhād*), many of whom upheld a moderate form of the *qadar* doctrine, and particularly by Kufan Shīʿī partisans of the Ḥusaynid ʿAlid imams al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq, and al-Kāẓim, many of whom held a mitigated form of predestinarian teaching. In the late sec-

ond century a group of Damascene Murji'ī tradents combined it with a rival teaching about *al-qalam* 'the Pen' as first creation. In the opening decades of the third century certain radical Muʻtazilī exponents in Baghdad adapted it in support of their extravagent doctrines; while it continued to be invoked by the important Baghdadi Ṣūfī al-Muḥāsibī (who opposed the Muʻtazilah) and the Central Asian master al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī. The nominal form "*Awwalu mā khalaqa*" can not be earlier than the mid-third century (below ch.3). Finally, imputing a Greek Neoplatonic emanationist meaning to *ʻaql* in the second century forms of this report is unfounded. Rather, the creation of *ʻaql* should be placed in the context of pre-creation Wisdom in the Throne realm.

Before turning to the texts themselves, it will assist the reader's comprehension of meaning if we sketch the structure of the report(s). Almost all the versions quoted below are consistent in having four parts. 1) The 'setting' consisting of the temporal clause "When God had created *al-ʻaql*", with no mention of *ʻaql* as first creation. 2) God's 'testing' of *ʻaql* by commanding him to face forward and face back (the *iqbāl & idbār* of *ʻaql*). 3) The 'encomium' of *ʻaql* consisting of God's swearing an oath ("By My Power!") and eulogizing *ʻaql* as the most cherished and worthiest of created things to Him. 4) God's 'listing' the reasons why *ʻaql* is worthy of His high praise, normally a peroration

comprising pairs of complementary or opposing traits characterizing *ʿaql*'s function within humans and between man and God. Of these four parts, the first and third display the least variability amongst the several versions to be examined, while the second and fourth contain the widest alternatives or differences, pointing to the differing intent of the adaptors. (Yet in later re-workings of this report, it is the 'setting' and sometimes the 'encomium' which exhibit the greatest transformation; see Part II below.) The following list of versions is not meant to imply any definite priority in chronology. For the most part the underlying principle determining the order of presentation is the movement from simplicity to complexity in textual details. In keeping with the explicit personification of *ʿaql* in the report(s), we translate the pronominal suffixes *hu* & *ka* as 'him' and 'thee'. After presenting the successive versions, the significance of their chief features shall be reviewed (ch.2).

SI A. SUNNĪ TRANSMISSION

#1) ʿAbdAllāh b. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (d.290/903), in the *zawāʾid* to his father's Kitāb al-Zuhd, ed. M. Jalāl Sharaf [Alexandria 1984] II 300.

ISNĀD ʿAlī b. Muslim al-Ṭūsī[10] (d.253/867) } Sayyār b. Ḥātim al-ʿAnazī[11] (d.199 or 200/815) } Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān

al-Ḍubaʻī[12] (d.178/794-5) } Mālik b. Dīnār[13] (d. 127/745) } al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d.110/729) } *marfūʻ* :

> *Lammā khalaqa llāhu l-ʻaqla qāla la-hu "aqbil!" fa-aqbala, thumma qāla la-hu "adbir!" fa-adbara, fa-qāla "mā khalaqtu khalqan[14] aḥabba ilayya min-ka, bi-ka ākhudhu wa bi-ka uʻṭī."*
>
> When God had created intelligence, He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. (God) said, "I did not create 'a creature' dearer to Me than thee. By means of thee I receive, and by means of thee I bestow."

COMMENTS A Baghdadi-Basran *riwāyah* of ascetic-Qadarī provenance, seemingly a *qawl* of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī 'raised' to the Prophet, though possibly showing the touch of the ascetic *qāṣṣ* Mālik b. Dīnār. Both Mālik and his disciple the Shīʻī *zāhid* Jaʻfar b. Sulaymān, were known to hold Qadarī views. This form is quite close to a primitive version. The 'encomium' is lacking any divine oath of approbation. God's praise of *ʻaql* ("I created no creature dearer to Me than thee") may have been in circulation early on as a separate saying or prophetic *ḥadīth*.[15] This praise appears to echo a popular wisdom saying extolling the merit of 'innate intelligence*wisdom' of the "*faḍlu l-ʻaql*" type assigned to the premier pre-Islamic sage Luqmān, or repeated by a number of early authorities:

> "God is not worshipped by anything more surpassing than al-*ʻaql*."[16]

Several later Sunnī critics referred to this particular *riwāyah* of the *Aqbil!* report in support of their view that it had validity, despite being *mursal*.[17] This minority position keeps on reappearing over the centuries of intense critical debate on the 'correctness' of this report's attribution to the Prophet.

The final sentence or short form of the 'listing' is problematic depending on how one construes the preposition *bi*-, with the pair of transitive verbs *ākhudhu* & *uʻṭī* (1st Sgl. with God as subject). The problem centers on the unstated object of these verbs, since *bi*- is used with a transitive verb to specify the relation between the act and its omitted proper object; or figuratively, *ʻaql* as the object through\by means of which God realizes the act. A casual reading glides over the complexities buried in this brief sentence, or imputes unfounded meaning.[18] Our rendering "by means of thee I receive, and by means of thee I bestow", takes *bi*- as indicating agency or instrumentality, ie. God's employing *ʻaql* as an aid or instrument.[19] The implied meaning is:

> a. <Through the agency of a person's *ʻaql* God receives man's obedience\accepts his deeds; and in accordance with the degree of a person's *ʻaql* God grants recompense for man's obedience\good works [or: bestows surpassing rank and 'grace' in the Hereafter].>

This interpretation is partly based on the linguistic data and the Qur'ānic employment of the verbs *akhadha* and *aʿṭā*,[20] as well as what is known about al-Ḥasan's thought (see H. Ritter, <u>Der Islam</u> XXI 1-83; M. Schwarz, <u>Oriens</u> XX 15-30; van Ess, <u>Theologie</u> II 48-50). One is reminded of the *qawl* by Muʿāwiyah b. Qurrah al-Muzanī (d.113/731) that: "people perform good (deeds), however they receive their recompense on Resurrection Day in proportion to the measure of their intelligence/...*yuʿṭawnā ujūrahum yawma l-qiyāmati ʿalā qadri ʿuqūlihim*".[21] Muʿāwiyah's saying admits the relevance of innate inequities (*tafḍīl* or *tafāḍul*) with respect to discrete dissimilarities in human *ʿaql*, reflecting first century views on the divine parcelling out of the *ʿuqūl*.

It must be pointed out that other meanings for "*bi-ka ākhudhu wa bi-ka uʿṭī*" are possible. We mention several with little comment so as not to distract the reader with Arabic minutia. They are to be borne in mind when comprehending the successive versions of the report.

> <u>b.</u> reason or cause, *li-l-taʿlīl*: <On thy account I punish or censure[22] (men for their sins\disobedience); on thy account I grant (remission for sin, or bestow reward for obedience).>

> <u>c.</u> measure, 'to the amount of': <According to thy measure*amount I take away*remove (men's fortune in this world, or grace in the Hereafter); by the amount of thy measure I bestow (*faḍl* upon men in worldly fortune, or otherworldly degree).>

This latter meaning requires a predestinarian reading of the report (cf. *akhdhun* 'seizure, removal'), or at least a "*tafḍīlī*" sense: God 'takes away' or withholds the natural endowment of *ʿaql* from some while providing it in abundance to others, thus determining human fortune or virtue. This interpretation has much to commend it, and is in tune with widespread first century AH notions.

It may be said that God's giving and taking in *ākhudhu & uʿṭī*, however the unstated objects are construed, involves either recompense in the Hereafter[23] for qualities or works initiated by *ʿaql* on his own; or a this-worldly and other-worldly bestowal on account of something due to divine initiative (predestination). Thus the meaning we construe to be al-Ḥasan's or Mālik b. Dīnār's (above a) might have signalled a departure from an originally more predestinarian intent.

Critics noted that an almost identical version as a *qawl* of al-Ḥasan was included by al-Bayhaqī (d.458/1066) in his Shuʿab al-Īmān [not seen; quoted in La'ālī I 129-30], *via* Ibn ʿAdiy, on the *isnād*:

> ... the Basran Qadarī ʿUbaydAllāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ al-ʿĀ'ishī[24] (=Ibn ʿĀ'ishah, d.228/842-3) } the Basran *qāṣṣ* & Qadarī *zāhid* Ṣāliḥ al-Murrī[25] (d.172/788-9 or 176/792-3) } al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

Al-Bayhaqī's version included an extra element in the 'listing' that highlights its Qadarī intent: "*innī bi-ka uʿbadu*

wa bi-ka u'rafu by means of thee am I worshipped, and by means of thee am I known" (see below reports #6 - #8).[26]

#2) Ibn Abī l-Dunyā (d.281/894), 'Aql 31-2 #15.

ISNĀD Muḥammad b. Bakkār[27] al-Ruṣāfī (d.238/852-3) } 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī l-Zinād[28] (d.174/790) } Muḥammad b. 'Uqbah[29] } Kurayb b. Abī Muslim[30] (d.98/716-7) :

> *Lammā khalaqa llāhu l-'aqla* When God had created *al-'aql,* He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. (God) said, saying (this) knowing best about (*al-'aql*)[31], "By My Power and My Majesty! I shall not place you/*lā aj'aluka* save in one whom I love, and I did not create a thing/*shay'an*[32] dearer to Me than thee!"

COMMENTS A Baghdadi-Medinese *riwāyah* presented as a *qawl* of Kurayb *mawlā* Ibn 'Abbās; deemed by van Ess (Zwischen 122, & Theologie II 170) as perhaps the oldest form of the report(s). This version has some unique features: the 'encomium' and 'listing' are merged; *'aql* is referred to as a *shay'* 'thing'; and God is *a'lamu bi-l-'aqli*.

What is the significance of God being the one best acquainted with *al-'aql*? Qur'ānic usage shows that the expression *a'lamu bi-* predicated of God covers: i) what men hide or conceal within themselves — Q 3:167, 5:61, 11:31, 29:10; ii) the actuality of men's faith — 4:25, 60:10; iii) what men do*work — 22:68, 26:188, 39:70; and iv) who is unjust\corrupt or led astray vs. who is rightly

guided — 6:58 & 117, 28:56 & 85, 17:25 & 84, 53:30. If this is the proper context against which to comprehend this expression, then we may construe its meaning as revolving around God's awarding the surpassing 'merit' or 'grace' (*faḍl*) of *al-ʿaql* to humans, giving it only to those He favors,[33] in the same way He gives his 'grace' to whomever He wishes.[34] God's *ʿilm* is thus His determining foreknowledge of future events. The predestinarian message of this report points to the theme of divine apportioning of the created 'measures' of *ʿaql*. Thus, God knows best who received an abundant share of *ʿaql* and who was denied such a share, namely who shall be saved and who damned.

If this indeed represents the most archaic recoverable form of the *Aqbil!* report, then it may have started its existence enunciating the old Arab notion of the predestined lots of human intelligence in an Islamic religious context. On the other hand, was it a response to an earlier voluntarist form (+ see report #4) intended to counter its employment by Qadarī exponents?

#3) Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d.295/907...310/922), <u>Maʿrifat al-Asrār</u>, ed. Juyūshī [Cairo 1977] 38 (no *isnād*) :

> ...*anna llāha ʿAzza wa Jalla lammā khalaqa l-ʿaqla* God Mighty and Majestic, when He had created *al-ʿaql*, He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then God the Exalted said, "I did not create a creature dearer to Me

than thee. On thy account I reward/*bi-ka uthību*, and on thy account I punish/*wa bi-ka u'āqibu*.[35] And thee I blame/*wa 'alayka u'ātibu*.[36] To whomever I bestow thee, I thereby honor him; and from whomever I deprive thee, I thereby curse him."[37]

COMMENTS Since al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī is quoting this report without *isnād*, his wording "*...wa dhālika anna llāha...lammā khalaqa*" reflects the original, "*Lammā khalaqa llāhu l-'aqla*".[38] The 'listing' contains a significant element: "thee I blame," or "according to your standard do I blame/*u'ātibu*." God's displeasure or friendly anger is directed towards *al-'aql*, reproving him for blameworthy conduct while desiring him to return to what will please God.[39] The final sentence is reminiscent of report #2. God's honoring the one gifted with *'aql* ("*man ahdaytuka ilayhi akramtuhu*"), and His cursing the one deprived of it, clearly suggests a predestinarian meaning (fortunate vs. unfortunate). Yet the fact that *'aql* bears the blame for man's recompense in the Hereafter (reward & punishment) suggests a complementary emphasis on a voluntarist meaning of human moral responsibility. The conjunction of both ideas is compatible with "*tafḍīlī*" notions of the inequitable distribution of the *'uqūl*.

#4) Abū l-Faraj 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī[40] (d.597/1201), Akhbār al-Adhkiyā' 7; and Dhamm al-Hawā 8 :

ISNĀD ... Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm[41] } al-Haytham b. ʿAdiy[42] (d.206/821) } Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-Aʿmash[43] (d.148/765) } ʿAmr b. Murrah al-Jamalī al-Murādī[44] (d.116/734 - 120/738) } ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Sābiṭ[45] (d.118/736) } ʿAbdAllāh Ibn ʿAbbās (d.68/687 - 70/689) :

> *Lammā khalaqa llāhu l-ʿaqla* When God had created *al-ʿaql*, He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. (God) said, "By My Power! I never created any creature better than thee/*mā khalaqtu khalqan qaṭṭu aḥsana min-ka*. According to thy measure do I bestow, and according to thy measure do I take away,[46] and on thy account I punish/*bi-ka uʿāqibu*."

COMMENTS A Kufan-Meccan *isnād* of predestinarian and Murji'ī intent, originating within the Meccan circle of pupils of Ibn ʿAbbās of the late first century. The fact that the avid Ḥanbalī scholar Ibn al-Jawzī chose to quote this particular version in his moralizing and didactic works is noteworthy, since one of his missions in life was to purify the body of *ḥadīth* from falsities and weak reports.[47] Besides his Dhamm[48] and Adhkiyā', he treated the subject of *faḍl al-ʿaql* at length in his Minhāj al-Qāṣidīn.[49] He quotes this (Adhkiyā' 7) after a report that God first created the Pen.[50] His *isnad* for our report was rarely commented on by critics.

The fact that the *idbār* comes first might be significant,[51] also the reversal "*bi-ka uʿṭī wa bi-ka ākhudhu*".

This perhaps reflects a re-working of the text performed for polemical purposes, since it is known that Kufan-Ḥijāzī predestinarian circles related anti-Qadarī reports. This consideration shapes our translation. The final phrase "*bi-ka u'āqibu*" may be understood in various ways (eg. "In proportion to thee I punish").

#5.a) Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī (d.360/971), al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr [Baghdad 1980-4; 2nd pr. Mawṣil 1985] VIII 283 #8086; & his al-Mu'jam al-Awsaṭ;[52] also in al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, Kanz al-'Ummāl III 220 #1931 :

ISNĀD ... Al-Walīd b. Shujā' al-Sakūnī[53] (d.243/857-8) } Sa'īd b. al-Faḍl al-Qurashī[54] } 'Umar b. Abī Ṣāliḥ[55] al-'Atakī } "Abū Ghālib"[56] [= Khazawwar] } Abū Umāmah al-Bāhalī (d. ca. 81/700) } *marfū'* :

> *Lammā khalaqa llāhu l-'aqla* When God had created *al-'aql*, He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then He said, "By My Power! I did not create a creature more pleasing/*a'jaba* to Me than thee. By means of thee I receive, and by means of thee I bestow. The reward is thine/*la-ka l-thawāb*[57], and the penalty is against thee/*wa 'alayka l-'iqāb*."

COMMENTS A Baghdadi-Kufan-Syrian-Basran *riwāyah*, this problematic *isnād* was dismissed by critics; Mawḍū'āt I 175, & La'ālī I 129 — both relying on al-'Uqaylī, Ḍu'afā', *tarjamah* of 'Umar b. Abī Ṣāliḥ: "*lā yutāba'u 'alā ḥadīthih wa*

lā yathbutu fī hādha l-matni shay'un fa-huwa mawḍūʿ." Yet the text is close to an early form. The final sentence seemingly shifts the intent towards a voluntarist stance, with *ʿaql* being held responsible for human merit or demerit in the Hereafter; ie. <"You earn the reward, and you suffer the penalty">. However, this may be reading too much into the text. In keeping with the signification of the *iqbāl & idbār* of the personified *ʿaql* as obedience (adherence & avoidance), here *li-* may signify advantage rather than mere possession, opposed to *ʿalā* indicating injury.[28] Thus, "*la-ka al-thawāb wa ʿalayka al-ʿiqāb*" may simply be rendered: <"The reward is to your credit, and the penalty discredits you">. This may also apply to the following three versions.

Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī in his <u>al-Akyās wa l-Mughtarrīn</u> (ed. al-Sā'iḥ as <u>Ṭabā'iʿ al-Nufūs</u>, on 24 - no *isnād*) gives a version which combines elements of al-Ṭabarānī's #5.a, with "thee I blame" (#3 above):

> #5.b) ...*fa-inna llāha Tabāraka wa Taʿālā khalaqa l-ʿaqla fa-qāla la-hu, fī-mā ruwiya ʿanhu [yaʿnī ʿan al-Nabiy]: "aqbil!" fa-aqbala thumma qāla la-hu "adbir!" fa-adbara, fa-qāla, "wa ʿizzatī mā khalaqtu khalqan aḥabba ilayya min-ka, fa-bi-ka ākhudhu wa bi-ka uʿṭī, wa iyyāka uʿātibu, wa la-ka l-thawābu wa ʿalayka l-ʿiqāb.*"[29]

Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī quotes this in the context of treating the prohibition of alcoholic drink (*hādha l-sharābi lladhī*

yudhhibu l-ʻuqūl), explaining that God confers *al-dhihn* (worldly 'mind') to ordinary men, whereas He grants *al-ʻaql* (religious 'mind') to those who truly confess God's Unity enabling them to discriminate good practices from evil ones ("*bi-l-ʻaqli yumayyizu l-muwaḥḥidūna min al-maḥāsin wa l-masāwi'*").

#6) Ibn Ṭāwūs, al-Malāḥim wa l-Fitan [Najaf 1972, rpr. Beirut] 105, quoting the Kitāb al-Fitan of Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Salīlī (b. Aḥmad b. ʻĪsā b. al-Shaykh al-Ḥasā'ī\Ḥassānī)[60].

ISNĀD ...ʻAbd al-Aʻlā b. Ḥammād al-Narsī[61] (d.237/851-2) } Ḥammād b. Salamah[62] (d.167/783-4) } al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāt al-Nakhāʻī[63] (d.145/762) } Abū l-ʻAbbās al-Walīd b. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Mālik al-Hamdānī[64] (d.125/743 or 127/745) } Abū ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qāsim b. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān[65] (d.112/730) } Abū Umāmah al-Bāhalī } **marfūʻ** :

> *Lammā khalaqa llāhu l-ʻaqla* When God had created *al-ʻaql*, He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then God Blessed and Exalted said, "I did not create a creature dearer to Me than thee, nor more esteemed by Me/ *akrama ʻalayya* than thee. By means of thee I receive, and by means of thee I bestow. And by means of thee am I known/*bi-ka uʻrafu*. The reward is thine and the penalty is against thee."

COMMENTS A Basran-Kufan-Damascene *riwāyah* of Syrian Qadarī provenance, probably imported into Iraq either by al-Walīd Ibn Abī Mālik or by al-Ḥajjāj. The chief features of inter-

est are the *idbār* preceding the *iqbāl* in the 'testing' of *ʿaql* (cf. #4), and the inclusion of the phrase "wa *bi-ka uʿrafu*" in the 'listing'.

This element, that man 'knows*acknowledges' (*ʿarafa*) God by reason of God's gift of *ʿaql* to him, constituted an important theme in second century Islam, when the notion of "*maʿrifatu llāh* knowledge of God" came to be widely understood as covering human acknowledgement or recognition of God's existence as Creator, Revealer, and Law Giver.[66] Since *ʿaql* was seen to be an inborn trait (*sajiyyah, gharīzah*) and as "the most surpassing thing given to man"[67] with which man is endowed by God, present in man from birth (*fiṭrah*) and leading him to acknowledgement of God's existence and His creation and direction of the world and man, so man comes to know God by reason of God's gift of *ʿaql*.[68]

This notion may have had some connection to the early Qadarī notion reputedly enunciated by the Syrian *mawlā* Ghaylān al-Dimashqī in his theory of *ʿaql* and *fiṭrah*, in the sense of innate necessary knowledge and man's power of decision.[69] One must be careful to distinguish between *ʿaql* as a natural disposition for knowledge of God equally inherent in all humans (cf. the Hellenistic notion of *noús & dianoia*), or as a God-given ability or direct gift (*mawhūb, mawhibah*), varying in degree of intensity or allotment, and leading to salvation (as in Biblicist teachings and early

Muslim religious thought). These differing notions are at the heart of a telling exchange (found in al-Dhahabī, Huffāẓ I 147)[70] between Ghaylān and the Basran predestinarian *faqīh* Dāwūd b. Abī Hind[71] (d.140/757). Dāwūd asked, "What is the most excellent thing given to man?", to which Ghaylān replies, "*al-ʿaql*". Then Dāwūd asks:

> "Tell me about *al-ʿaql*, is it a thing open to everyone/*mubāḥ li-l-nās*, whoever wishes obtains it and whoever wishes relinquishes it; or is it a thing apportioned between them/*maqsūm baynahum*?" ...
> [Gh. refuses to reply, so D. supplies the answer]:
>
> "(*Al-ʿaql*) is cut/*unquṭiʿa* [into varying individual portions], so likewise has God apportioned faith and the 'modes of obedience'/*kadhālika qasama llāhu l-īmān wa l-adyān*.[72] Thus, 'There is no power [for man to act] but by means of God'!"

The Muʿtazilah later developed their doctrine of *taklīf* 'moral responsibility' springing from *maʿrifah* or *ʿilm* 'natural knowledge' as independent of revelation.[73] The phrase "*bi-ka uʿrafu*" may possibly involve the theological meaning given to *maʿrifah* in the so-called Murji'ī thought of the Qadarī-Ghaylāniyyah.[74]

#7) Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, ʿAql 31 #14; & in al-ʿUqaylī, Ḍuʿafā' III 175; Kāmil II 797-8, & VI 2040; Mīzān I 564 #2135, II 331 #2655, & III 356 #6740.

ISNAD (*) Muḥammad b. Bakkār al-Ruṣāfī (d.238/852-3, above #2) } Ḥafṣ b. ʿUmar[75] *qāḍī Ḥalab* (fl. ca. 150/767) }

al-Faḍl b. ʻĪsā al-Raqāshī[76] (d. ca. 132/750) } Abū ʻUthmān al-Nahdī[77] (= ʻAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mull, d. before 100/719) } Abū Hurayrah (d.59/679) } *marfūʻ* :

> *Lammā khalaqa llāhu Taʻālā l-ʻaqla* When God the Exalted had created *al-ʻaql*, He said to him, "Stand up/*qum!*" so he stood up. Then He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He said to him, "Sit/*uqʻud!*" so he sat down. Then God Mighty and Majestic said, "I did not create a creature better than thee, nor more esteemed than thee, nor more surpassing than thee, nor more goodly than thee.[78] By means of thee I receive, and by means of thee I bestow. [By means of thee am I glorified/*bi-ka uʻazzu.*[79]] By means of thee am I known/*uʻrafu*, and thee alone do I blame/*wa iyyāka uʻātibu.*[80] The reward is thine/*la-ka l-thawāb*,[81] and the penalty is against thee."

COMMENTS - The *Isnād*: A Baghdadi-(Syrian)-Basran transmission of Qadarī & Murji'ī provenance (*viz.* al-Faḍl al-Raqāshī); critique in Ibn al-Jawzī, Mawḍūʻāt I 174, & al-Suyūṭī, La'ālī I 129 [both *via* Ibn ʻAdiy's Kāmil]. See Goldziher, ZA XXII 323; Zwischen 121-2; Theologie II 170 ("probably a fairly early development"); & Gilliot, Exégèse, Langue, et Theologie 261.

The presence of the Syrian *qāḍī* Ḥafṣ in an Iraqi *isnād* would not normally raise suspicion, save for the fact that much confusion exists over the name "Ḥafṣ b. ʻUmar\ʻAmr" (see eg. Jarḥ III 179-85, & IX 361 #s 1640-2 & 410 #s 1986-

8; Mīzān I 560-7 #s 2128-2159). Furthermore, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (Mūḍiḥ II 47) observed that Muḥammad b. Bakkār al-Ruṣāfī also transmitted from the Kufan Qur'ān reader Abū ʻUmar Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān al-Bazzāz[82] (d.180-90/796-806). One might question whether specifying "*qāḍī Ḥalab*" in the *isnād* was *tadlīs*[83] meant to disguise the presence of Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān, by intentionally confusing him with the somewhat earlier Ḥafṣ b. ʻUmar b. Thābit al-Anṣārī al-Ḥalabī.[84] Against such speculations is the fact that the reputable Syrian traditionist-*faqīh* Yaḥyā b. Ṣāliḥ al-Wuḥāẓī[85] (d.222/837) also transmitted the identical report from } "Ḥafṣ b. ʻUmar *qāḍī Ḥalab*" } al-Faḍl al-Raqāshī... (see Kāmil II 797-8, & Mīzān I 564, III 356). It appears that Syrian Murji'ī circles were receptive to this report, perhaps construing it in an anti-Qadarī sense. Also recall that al-Faḍl al-Raqāshī was in touch with Kufan Murji'īs.

(*) An alternative Kufan *isnād* for this version was provided by al-Dāraquṭnī (*per* Mawḍūʻāt I 174 > La'ālī I 129) :

> the Baghdadi al-Ḥasan b. ʻArafah al-ʻAbdī al-Mu'addib (d.257/871) } the Kufan-Baghdadi 'liar' Sayf b. Muḥammad Ibn Ukht al-Thawrī[86] } the Kufan Sufyān al-Thawrī (d.161/778) } the Kufan Shīʻī al-Faḍl\al-Fuḍayl b. ʻUthmān[87] } "Abū Hurayrah" } *marfūʻ*.

It is difficult to determine whether the attribution here to al-Thawrī is the invention of Sayf, or if Sayf's contribu-

tion to the *isnād* lay in 'raising' it from al-Faḍl b. ʻUthmān to the Prophet through Abū Hurayrah.

- The *Matn*: Here the 'testing' of *ʻaql* is elaborated into four postures in tune with his personification: standing, facing, turning back, and sitting. All these are mute outward actions, wherein *ʻaql*'s unhesitating obedience to God's commands (ie. his alacrity in comprehending the divine address) is thereby underlined. Could the intent have been to further highlight certain facets; eg. the sitting *ʻaql* as politico-ideological *irjā'* ? This possibility appears unlikely. The 'encomium' lacks God's oath of approbation, yet is far more emphatic in praise. The 'listing' covers the familiar ground of *ʻaql* being the agency of God's accepting & granting, as well as his earning merit or demerit in the Hereafter (*thawāb & ʻiqāb*), or of being alone blameable. Other elements surface as well: *ʻaql* as the agency for worshipping (or glorifying) God; and for man knowing God ("*bi-ka uʻrafu*", in the theological-Murji'ī sense that faith consists in knowledge of God?).[88]

#8.a) Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Nawādir al-Uṣūl 242, *aṣl* #206 [also La'ālī I 130; & Kanz al-ʻUmmāl III 220 #1930].

ISNĀD (*) ʻAbd al-Raḥīm b. Habīb[89] } Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar[90] (d.206/821) } al-Ḥasan b. Dīnār[91] (d. ca. mid 2nd/8th century) } al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī } "a number of the Prophet's Companions" } *marfūʻ* :

Lammā khalaqa llāhu l-ʿaqla When God had created *al-ʿaql*, He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then He said to him, "Sit!" so he sat down. Then He said to him, "Speak/*unṭuq*!" so he spoke.[92] Then He said to him, "Be silent!" so he was silent. Then (God) said, "By My Power and My Majesty! I did not create a creature dearer to Me than thee, nor more esteemed by Me than thee. By means of thee am I known/*uʿrafu*, and by means of thee am I praised/*uḥmadu*. By means of thee am I obeyed/*uṭāʿu*. By means of thee I receive, and by means of thee I bestow. And thee alone do I blame. And the reward is thine, and the penalty is against thee."[93]

COMMENTS A Baghdadi-Basran *isnād* of moderate ascetic Qadarī provenance, attributed to the Prophet through the device of a collective *irsāl*; possibly a *qawl* of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī reworked by al-Ḥasan b. Dīnār and\or Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar. Clearly this version is related to report #7, and the 'encomium' and 'listing' largely echo it. Here the 'testing' contains five elements: advancing, retreating, sitting, speaking, & silence. *ʿAql* is no longer mute. The speaking *ʿaql* may be understood against the background of the association of *lisān* and *ʿaql* familiar from old Arab times and in first century Islam,[94] yet invested with an Islamic religious aura; thus *ʿaql* praises God. A similar enrichment of meaning is observable in the silent *ʿaql*, also a common feature of Near Eastern Wisdom (the guarding of the tongue by

the wise).[95] This emphasis on speaking and silence is quite consonant with the fundamental meaning of *ʿaql* as 'comprehension-of-meaning' exemplified in the sapiential hearing formula. These motifs are pressed into the service of an Islamic 'narrative-theology' found in early *aqwāl* or *ḥadīth* of a didactic religious purpose (*qiṣaṣ, raqā'iq, zuhd*), what van Ess terms "implicit theology".

Some of the details in report #8.a resemble the form given by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī in his work Ghawr al-Umūr (ed. W.A. ʿAbdAllāh as al-Aʿḍā' wa l-Nafs, on 152), such as the 'sitting' *ʿaql*, and "by means of thee am I obeyed/uṭāʿu". However, the piece in Ghawr displays a far greater complexity joined with a different trajectory wherein the Adam \ Iblīs myth has been integrated into an elaborate light-mysticism (see ch.6 SI.B.c.). A closer parallel to report #8.a is the *Aqbil!* version in Persian provided by Rashīd al-Dīn Maybudī (d. after 520/1126) in his esoteric Qur'ānic commentary Kashf al-Asrār wa ʿUddat al-Abrār[96], giving five elements in the 'testing' (stand, sit, come, go, see!), yet merely two for the 'listing' ("through you I shall be worshipped and through you I shall be obeyed [...uṭāʿu]"). Maybudī's version comes equipped with a unique supplement stressing the insufficiency of *ʿaql* to rely on its own power and its tendency for self-conceit, for behind him looms an

even more beautiful form: *tawfīq*, the saving-grace provided man by God.[97]

(*) Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī also provides an alternative and very lame (*muʿḍal* 'choked') Syrian *isnād* of Murji'ī tint for version #8.a:

al-Faḍl[98] } the Damascene Hishām b. Khālid al-Azraq[99] (d.249/863) } Baqiyyah b. al-Walīd (d.197/812) } ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAmr al-Awzāʿī (d.158/774) } *marfūʿ*.

#8.b) Furthermore, al-Muḥāsibī (d.243/857-8), in his al-Naṣā'iḥ (ed. ʿA.-Q.A. ʿAṭā, in al-Waṣāyā [Beirut 1986] 59-215, on 130), invokes yet another version of this elaborate voluntarist form, without an *isnād* ("*bal aghanā anna llāha ʿazza wa jalla, lammā khalaqa l-ʿaqla...*"), wherein the 'testing' presents seven elements: retreating, advancing, gazing, speaking, silent-listening,[100] hearing-understanding,[101] and comprehending (*adbir, aqbil, unẓur, takallam, inṣit, ismaʿ, ifham!*). Al-Muḥāsibī's version represents a deeper interiorization in harmony with a Ṣūfī intent.[102] The 'encomium' is even more elaborate: "*wa ʿizzatī wa jalālī wa ʿaẓamatī wa sulṭānī wa qudratī ʿalā khalqī!*"[103] This last phrase ("by My Omnipotence over My creatures") may have been aimed against the Muʿtazilah. The 'listing' is essentially the same as al-Ḥasan's report #8.a. Clearly reports #8.a-b and their related versions represent a particular trajectory within 2nd century Iraqi Ṣūfī

meditation with continuing enrichments over the following two centuries in Central Asia. (See Addendum A.)

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Other Sunnī *Isnāds*: There exist several additional lines of transmission of closely related or derivative *mutūn* for the "*lammā khalaqa llāhu*" form of the *Aqbil!* report. Sunnī traditionist critics noted some of them in their works on the 'weak' transmitters and the 'defective' *riwāyāt*. They relied heavily for the *ṭuruq & mutūn* and for critical judgements on: al-ʿUqaylī (d.322/934), al-Ḍuʿafāʾ al-Kabīr; Ibn ʿAdiy (d.365/976), al-Kāmil fī Ḍuʿafāʾ al-Rijāl; and works by al-Dāraquṭnī (d.385/995, see GAS I 207-8), Gharāʾib Mālik, al-Afrād, & al-ʿIlal al-Wāridah fī l-Aḥādīth al-Nabawiyyah [al-Riyāḍ 1985; his famous *responsa* published by his pupil al-Burqānī]; as well as on comments gleaned from various Suʾālāt, Taʾrīkh, ʿIlal or Ḍuʿafāʾ works derived from third century authorities. After the 4th/10th century almost nothing of value was added by critics about this report or its *ṭuruq*.[104]

The traditionist critics most often confined themselves to *isnād* analysis, and to repeating the blanket denunciations of *ʿaql* reports, in particular of the *Aqbil!* report in its (later) "*awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu*" versions. In particular they repeated the famous statement by al-Dāraquṭnī[105] and of later critics[106] purporting to give the pedigree of

forged works on *'aql* by Maysarah b. 'Abd Rabbih, Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar, and other 2nd/8th century figures. Generally they little cared to carefully distinguish between the "*lammā khalaqa*" and the "*awwalu mā khalaqa*" forms, indiscriminately jumbling the two together in their discussion of the *ṭuruq* of the reports. This despite their vaunted detailed knowledge of *ḥadīth*. Obviously this was done for a reason. The only real exception to this was the iconoclastic Ḥanbalī scholar and avid polemicist Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Ibn Taymiyyah (d.728/1328), whose critique went far beyond mere details of *isnāds* and *rijāl* (below ch.3 §III).

Twentieth century discussion of the report(s) has continued in a lively manner,[107] especially due to the renewed interest in, and prestige awarded in the eyes of some modern Muslim intellectuals to, the contribution of the Mu'tazilah in the early history of Muslim speculative and religious thought. This has something to do with the political and cultural challenge of Western powers and ideologies. The rising interest in this topic is attested in the numerous reprintings of standard works dealing with *'aql* in recent decades.[108] Another important factor for a revived interest in the *'aql* reports is the increasing recognition of their role in the unfolding of Islamic esoteric traditions (the Imāmī Shī'ah,[109] the Ismā'īliyyah, and Ṣūfīsm[110]). But in

truth, the interest and the controversy over this report has never really waned since the second century of Islam.

SI B. SHĪʻĪ TRANSMISSION (TEXTS)

The following six reports are all drawn from one of the ancient literary monuments of the Twelver Shīʻah compiled shortly after the mid-3rd/9th century, the Qummī *adīb*-traditionist Abū Jaʻfar Aḥmad al-Barqī's al-Maḥāsin [ed. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayni *al-Muḥaddith* al-Urmawī, Tehran 1370/1950].[111] Maḥāsin was a comprehensive *muṣannaf*-type collection incorporating *adab, fiqh, ta'rīkh, tafsīr, ʻilm al-ḥadīth, zuhd,* as well as *ḥikmah* & scientific materials, partly similar to the Sunni collections of ʻAbd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Ṣanʻānī (d.211/827) or Abū Bakr Ibn Abī Shaybah (d.235/849). The *muṣannaf* format early gave way to the *musnad & sunan* types in Sunnī circles, but retained popularity during the third century among Imāmī scholars (eg. al-Kulaynī's Kāfī).

Unfortunately, only about a sixth of this encyclopaedic compilation is extant, the bulk apparently lost (of 70+ titles, only 12 counting his Rijāl). Among the titles listed in its contents is a separate book by al-Barqī, Kitāb al-ʻAql. Due to the conflicting testimony of the bio-bibliographic sources[112] it is possible that this title actually refers to the extant chapter "*bāb al-ʻaql*" heading

the *kitāb maṣābīḥ al-ẓulam*, which was drawn upon by al-Kulaynī[113] (d.329/940-1) in the opening chapter of his Uṣūl, *kitāb al-'aql wa l-jahl*. Yet al-Barqī's *bāb al-'aql* contains only twenty-two reports, and judging from what is known about the contents of *'aql* books by Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar, Sulaymān b. 'Īsā, and Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, it is probable that al-Barqī did compile a Kitāb al-'Aql containing not only Shī'ī *ḥadīth* from the imams, but *aqwāl & akhbār* dealing with aspects of *'aql*.[114] His *bāb al-'aql* may thus have been a selection of such reports chosen on the basis of their transmission on the authority of the imams and their relevance to the themes treated in *kitāb maṣābīḥ al-ẓulam* (=Maḥāsin 191-296). Furthermore, the question whether al-Barqī's father Abū 'AbdAllāh Muḥammad b. Khālid[115] (fl. 1st half of third century) had a hand in the compilation of parts of Maḥāsin is not to be entirely dismissed.[116]

**

SOURCE Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Barqī (d.274/887-8 or 280/893-4), Kitāb al-Maḥāsin, *kitāb maṣābīḥ al-ẓulam, bāb al-'aql,* 192 #s 4 - 8, & 194 #13 > al-Majlisī, Biḥār I 96-7 #s 1, 3-6, 9; & 92 #23.

#9) [#4] ISNĀD Muḥammad b. 'Alī[117] } Wahb b. Ḥafṣ[118] } Abū Baṣīr[119] } al-Ṣādiq (d.148/765) :

Inna llāha khalaqa l-'aqla Truly, God created al-*'aql*, and then He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew

near. Then He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then He said to him, "By My Power and My Majesty! I did not create a thing dearer to Me than thee. The reward is thine and the penalty is against thee/*la-ka l-thawāb wa ʿalayka l-ʿiqāb*."

COMMENTS A Qummī-Kufan-Medinan *isnād*; there is little reason to question this attribution to al-Ṣādiq. The 'listing' lacks the element *bi-ka ākhudhu wa bi-ka uʿṭī*, yet the final sentence recalls reports #5 - #8.a-b; compare it to report #1.

With respect to the role of *ʿaql* as recipient of both *thawāb* & *ʿiqāb*, recall al-Ṣādiq's version of the tale of the hermit who wished for God's donkey (Uṣūl I 11-2 #8), where God says: "...*inna l-thawāba ʿalā qadri l-ʿaql* the reward is in proportion to the measure of one's *ʿaql*." And compare the final sentence of al-Kulaynī's introduction to his Kāfī (Uṣūl I 9): "...*al-ʿaqlu huwa l-quṭbu lladhī ʿalayhi l-dār wa bi-hi yaḥtajju wa la-hu l-thawāb wa ʿalayhi l-ʿiqāb* the 'comprehending-intelligence' is the pivot upon which (everything concerning the ultimate felicity of humans) revolves, and (God) adduces (*ʿaql*) as evidence [for His *ḥujjah* 'compelling-argument' against humans], and the reward is (*ʿaql*'s) and the penalty is against (*ʿaql*)."[120]

#10) [#5] ISNĀD al-Sindī b. Muḥammad[121] } al-ʿAlāʾ b. Razīn[122] } Muḥammad b. Muslim[123] (d.150/767) } imams al-Bāqir (d. ca. 117/735)[124] and al-Ṣādiq[125] :

Lammā khalaqa llāhu l-ʿaqla When God had created *al-ʿaql*, He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then he said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He said, "By My Power and My Majesty! I did not create a creature better than thee/*aḥsana min-ka*. Thee alone I command and thee alone I forbid/*iyyāka* āmuru *wa iyyāka anhā*. Thee alone I reward and thee alone I punish/*wa iyyāka uthību wa iyyāka* uʿāqibu."

COMMENTS A Kufan-Medinan *isnād*. Al-Kulaynī reports this text through a differing *riwāyah*, Uṣūl I 26 #26 :

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan[126] } Sahl b. Ziyād al-Ādamī al-Rāzī[127] } Ibn Abī Najrān[128] } al-ʿAlā' b. Razīn } Muḥammad b. Muslim } imam al-Bāqir.

Here the *qawl* is assigned to al-Bāqir alone, and is taken from al-Ṣaffār rather than al-Barqī. Muḥammad b. Muslim was said to have lived in Medinah for four years studying under his teacher al-Bāqir, and boasted of having audited 30,000 *ḥadīth*s from his master.[129]

The 'testing' has the *idbār* first. The final sentences bring to mind Q 1:5, the most oft repeated prayer in Islam. "Thee alone I reward and thee alone I punish" is partially paralleled in the Sunnī versions: cf. *bi-ka uʿāqibu\uʿātibu* or *bi-ka uthību wa bi-ka* uʿ*āqibu* (above #s 3, 4, 7, 8.a-b). The 'listing' also contains an element not explicitly found as such in the Sunnī versions: "Thee alone I command and thee alone I punish." While this reinforces the stress on *ʿaql*'s obedience to divine command or prohibition, and his

bearing responsibility for human deeds, it appears to include a corresponding emphasis upon man's 'capacity' *istiṭā'ah* to accomplish deeds. This was probably the contribution of Muḥammad b. Muslim.

#11) [#6] Also in Uṣūl I 10 #1 (*via* al-Barqī on the same *isnād*); Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī, al-Amālī [Qumm 1373] 251, *majlis* 65; & pseudo-Qudāmah b. Ja'far al-Kātib, Naqd al-Nathr[130] [Cairo 1933] 4 (without *isnād*).

ISNĀD al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb[131] (d.224/839) } al-'Alā' b. Razīn } Muḥammad b. Muslim } al-Bāqir :

> *Lammā khalaqa llāhu l-'aqla*[132] When God had created *al-'aql*, He interrogated him/*istanṭaqahu*.[133] Then He said to him: "Come forward!", so he drew near. Then He said to him: "Go back!", so he retreated. Then He said to him: "By My Power and My Majesty! I did not create a creature dearer to Me than thee. I do not make you perfect/*wa lā ukmiluka*[134] save in one whom I wish (to do so). Truly, Thee alone I command and thee alone I forbid. Thee alone I reward and thee alone I punish."[135]

COMMENTS A Kufan-Medinan *riwāyah* presented as a *qawl* of al-Bāqir. This is the very first *ḥadīth* of al-Kulaynī's opus. By now the conjunction al-'Alā' b. Razīn } Muḥammad b. Muslim is familiar. The explicit element of interrogation in the 'testing' repeats a well established motif common in the first century (see n.133) of testing a person's *'aql* by questioning him and weighing his replies. This motif is met

with in early Muslim tales concerning the 'succession of Solomon', depicting how David tested his son Solomon for wisdom (*fahm* & *'aql*).[136] The use of "*instanṭaqahu*" is itself an argument for the antiquity of this version, and its probable placement with al-Bāqir. The other noteworthy point is God's perfecting or completing of *'aql* in those whom He favors. This evokes the "*tafḍīlī*" motif of the unequal apportioning of the created measures of intelligence in report #2 above.

#12) [#7] ISNĀD 'Alī b. al-Ḥakam[137] } Hishām[138] } al-Ṣādiq :

> *Lammā khalaqa llāhu l-'aqla* When God had created *al-'aql*, He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then He said to him, "By My Power and My Majesty! I did not create a creature dearer to Me than thee. By means of thee I receive and by means of thee I bestow. And on account of thee I reward/*wa 'alayka uthību*."[139]

COMMENTS A Kufan-Medinese *isnād* presented as a *qawl* of al-Ṣādiq. This version appears close to early form(s) of the report. Notice the reappearance of God's receiving and bestowing missing in the previous three reports. The minor variant "*'alayka uthību*" may not be significant, though perhaps its intent was to counter the stress on *'aql* as recipient of blame (ie. "*'alayka u'ātibu*", see nn.37 & 40).

#13) [#8] ISNĀD Muḥammad b. Khālid[140] [al-Ash'arī al-Qummī] } 'AbdAllāh b. al-Faḍl al-Nawfalī[141] } his father[142] } al-Ṣādiq :

"The Messenger of God Ṣ said:
Khalaqa llāhu l-'aqla God created *al-'aql*, and then He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He said, "I did not create a creature dearer to Me than thee."

(al-Ṣādiq) said:

Thus God bestowed upon Muḥammad Ṣ ninety-nine parts (of *al-'aql*), then He apportioned (the remaining) one part among mankind."

COMMENTS A Qummī-Medinese *riwāyah*. Here al-Ṣādiq 'raises' this familiar report to the Prophet, placing the *idbār* first, quoting up to the 'encomium', and omitting the 'listing'. Then al-Ṣādiq connects it with a separate teaching about Muḥammad being the most abundantly endowed with *'aql* (a hundred, or one thousand, created measures).[143] Sunnī critics would dismiss the ascription to the Prophet (*mursal*, if not *mu'ḍal*). Most Shī'ī partisans would have accepted the Imām's utterance as a valid attribution, ie. the particular credence awarded the Imām's *irsāl* through the Ḥusaynid 'Alid's family *isnād*.

The impression is given that the *Aqbil!* report being so well known to his hearers that quoting it in full is redundant; its citation serves only to introduce the further

piece about the *'aql* of the Prophet. Nevertheless, the combination of the two pieces is quite signficant, linking God's creation of *al-'aql* with the fullness of Muḥammadan *'aql*. Al-Ṣādiq displays a creative adaptation of familiar elements, already hatching the seed of a fresh idea (below ch.3 §II, for Muḥammad as first creation).

#14) [#13] ISNĀD "One of our companions" } who 'raised' it } He [probably 'Alī al-Riḍā d.203/818][144] said :

> "The person of this religion who does not possess *'aql* is not to be deemed of any worth."[145] I said, "May I be your ransom! We come across a group of people from among those who extol*acknowledge 'this affair',[146] of whom we find nothing objectionable, (yet) who do not possess such *'uqūl* ?"
>
> Then (the imam) said:
>
> "Those are not among the ones whom God addressed/ *khāṭaba llāhu* in saying: '*Yā Ulī l-Albāb* O Possessers of Understanding'.[147] [Aren't you aware that:]
>
> *Inna llāha khalaqa l-'aqla* God created *al-'aql*, then He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He said to him, "Go Back!" so he retreated. Then He said, "By My Power and My Majesty! I did not create a thing/*shay'an* better than thee, nor dearer to Me than thee. By means of thee I receive, and by means of thee I bestow." "

COMMENTS Compare this version with report #1. The linkage with the Qur'ānic *ulū l-albāb* affirms the familiar nexus of

ʿaql with *qalb*. God addressed parts of revelation only to those endowed with understanding (*lubb* and *ʿuqūl*). The issue here echoes that fundamental facet of *samʿ & ʿaql* involving comprehension of meaning (ie. *fahm al-bayān*), linked with *taklīf* and the role of *ʿaql* as God's *ḥujjah*.[148] Within the Shīʿī context of the 'elite' vs. the 'outsiders' (*khāṣṣ* \ *ʿāmm*), a further distinction is being drawn between levels within the elite; only those elect 'initiates' possessed of *ʿaql* 'comprehending-intelligence' are worthy of grasping the truth of the Imām's teaching. This should warn one that placing too much emphasis on the Imām's division of the Muslim community into the partisans who accepted the *walāyah* 'juridical-spiritual authority' of the Family of the Prophet[149] in contrast to those who did not, may not have been by itself a mark of distinction when it came to human endowment of intelligence.

There remains at least one more early text of the *Aqbil!* report (see ch.2 report #15). These parallel versions permit one to better seize the intent and function of this famous tradition. Significantly, there are only a few essential disparities between the various Sunnī and Shīʿī versions, pointing to the common matrix of 'tradition' they shared during the early period. It is already apparent that the language and thought-forms of the *Aqbil!* report(s) are

not foreign to early Islamic notions, and may be adequately explained from within the confines of the revealed monotheistic faiths.

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NOTES

1. See below ch.2 'Salient Motifs', for more on the *iqbāl & idbār* of *ʻaql*.

2. "Neuplatonische und gnostische Elemente im Ḥadīṯ", ZA XXII/1908/317-44, on 317-24 & 341-3; reprinted in Gesammelte Schriften, ed. J. Desomogyi [Hildesheim, G.Olms, 1967-73] V 107-34; French summary by G.H. Bousquet, "Études Islamologiques d'Ignaz Goldziher: Traduction Analytique, I", Arabica VII/1960/1-29, on 8-9.

3. ZA XXII 319, reading it as a nominal proposition: "*Das erste, was Gott erschuf, ist der ʻakl, der Intellekt*"; evidently citing al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā' ʻUlūm al-Dīn [Beirut 1982] I *kitāb al-ʻilm*, 83. The particle *mā* may also be understood as *maṣdariyyah*, rendering the nominal proposition as: "The first of God's creation is\was *al-ʻaql*" (this reading is due to the kindness of E. Kohlberg).

4. The temporal clause "*lammā khalaqa llāhu*" (*lammā* + the perfect verb), expresses the *futurum exactum*; see Simon Hopkins, Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic [Oxford 1984] 249 #307. Eg. the *ḥadīth* recommending earning wealth by commerce and livestock, via ...} the Kufan exegete Jābir b. Saʻīd al-Azdī } al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim } Ibn Masʻūd } the Prophet: *lammā khalaqa llāhu ʻAzza wa Jalla l-maʻīshata jaʻala l-maʻīshata fī l-ḥarthi wa l-ghanam*; Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Iṣlāḥ al-Māl 284 #295.

5. ZA XXII 322-4, including his mention of Ibn Taymiyyah's linguistic critique reading *awwalu...al-ʻaqlu*

with *naṣb*: "*awwala mā khalaqa llāhu l-ʿaqla* At first when God created...".

6. ZA XXII 319 & 320; & eg. A. Hartmann, "Sur l'édition d'un texte arabe médiéval...", Der Islam LXII/1985/94. Nevertheless, the Qur'ān constantly links verbal *yaʿqilūna* to contemplation of and pondering upon God's providential created order, within the evidentiary function of the *āyāt*.

7. In his 1898 Berne dissertation, Die Prophetenlegenden des Muḥammad b. ʿAbdAllāh al-Kisā'ī xxf. See al-Kisā'ī, Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā', ed. Eisenberg [Leiden 1922-3] I 11, for the report attributed to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār. He was followed by T. Fahd, "La Naissance du Monde selon l'Islam", Sources Orientales I [Paris 1959] 264. Fahd, while again noting the lack of a Qur'ānic basis for *ʿaql* = first creation, comments: "Elle est certes inspirée de la littérature sapientielle de l'Ancien Testament et surtout de speculations haqqadiques très developpés, sur la *Ḥokhmā*"; ibid. Perhaps a Patristic scholar may have adduced a Christian model. Both Eisenberg and Fahd ignore the "*lammā khalaqa llāhu*" form.

8. Eg. T.J. De Boer & F. Rahman, E.I.[2] I 341b; J. van Ess, Zwischen 122: "das beruhmte Ḥadīṯ verbreitete, wonach der *ʿaql* ('Verstand', hier aber vielleicht auch *Logos*) von Gott vor allem andern geschaffen worden sei..."; Ḥ. al-Quwwatlī's intr. to al-Muḥāsibī, Al-ʿAql wa Fahm al-Qur'ān [Beirut 1971, repr. 1978] 138 (without specifically citing Goldziher, yet describing the "*lammā khalaqa*" form as an alteration of the prior "*awwalu mā khalaqa*" version, the latter being clearly tinged with Gnosticism & Stoic physics); A. Hartmann, Der Islam LXII/1985/94-6 (on the *awwalu* form: 94 n.47 "l'origine grecque du *ḥadīṯ* sur le

'aql"; & 96, on the *lammā* form as "la version modérée" which traditionist-theologians "l'écrêtèrent et y apportèrent une légère modification"); al-Shahrastānī Milal > D. Gimaret, Religions I 226 n.30; Cl. Gilliot, Exégèse, Langue, et Theologie [Paris 1990] 261: "...certains courants qadarites pour lesquels le *'aql* (intelligence ou logos?) a eté créé en premier", + 261 n.5; & van Ess, Theologie II 170-1.

9. Thus in 1975 van Ess wrote (Zwischen 122): it "is difficult to decide" whether *'aql* in al-Faḍl al-Raqāshī's report (below #7) signifies 'understanding' or 'logos', remarking that "if Goldziher was correct with his supposition that this originally reproduced a Neoplatonic notion, then probably Faḍl no longer understood this development." Recently in his Theologie II 170 n.31, he concludes that *'aql* in al-Faḍl's report should not be construed as 'logos', with Neoplatonic implications occuring only a century later with Ibn Khābiṭ & Faḍl al-Ḥadithī.

10. A Baghdadi deemed acceptable, he transmitted from Hushaym b. Bashīr (d.183/799), Ibn al-Mubārak, and 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith, and was an informant for Ibn Ma'īn, al-Bukhārī, & Ibn Abī l-Dunyā; Ḥuffāẓ II 548; T.Baghdād XII 108-9 #6548; Tahdhīb VII 382-3 #622.

11. A Basran ascetic and informant for Ibn Ḥanbal, he was blamed for *manākīr* (= reportage from Ja'far b. Sulaymān al-Ḍuba'ī), and noted for collecting *al-raqā'iq* like his teacher al-Ḍuba'ī. The Basran-Baghdadi critic 'UbaydAllāh b. 'Umar al-Qawārīrī (d. ca. 235/849) felt he lacked perspicacity in *ḥadīth* (*lam yakun la-hu 'aql*), yet stopped short of calling him a 'liar'; Jarḥ IV 257 #1111; Mīzān II 253-4 #3628; Tahdhīb IV 290 #497.

12. Abū Sulaymān, *mawlā* of Banū al-Ḥarīth\Ḥarīsh, an illiterate Basran *zāhid* and Qadarī well known for his committment to Shīʿism, and a specialist in *raqā'iq* as well as the *faḍā'il* of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Jaʿfar transmitted from Thābit al-Bunānī, Mālik b. Dīnār, Abū ʿImrān al-Jūnī, the Qadarī ʿAwf b. Abī Jamīlah al-Aʿrābī (d.146/763), and Ibn Jurayj. Among his pupils were Ibn al-Mubārak, ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī, and Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar (eg. Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Ṣamt 267 #119). Critics deemed him trustworthy despite his Shīʿī leanings (eg. Ibn ʿAdiy), save for the Basrans Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān and Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, who boycotted Jaʿfar's reports. See Jarḥ II 481 #1957; Thiqāt VI 140-41; Kāmil II 567-72; Mīzān I 407-11 #1505; Ḥuffāẓ I 241 #227; Tahdhīb II 95-8 #145; al-Mizzī, Tahdhīb al-Kamāl V 43f. He was an associate of both al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim; R.Ṭūsī 162 #19 & 345 #2; Tanqīh I 216 #1783. Compare the almost identical *isnād* for a different *matn* in Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Ṣamt 507-8 #513: Hārūn al-Ḥammāl (d.243/857) } Sayyār } Jaʿfar } Mālik b. Dīnār } al-Ḥasan } *marfūʿ*: *mā min ʿabdin yakhṭubu khuṭbatan illā llāhu sā'iluhu ʿanhā yawm al-qiyāmati, "mā aradta bi-hā?"*, with Jaʿfar al-Ḍubaʿī adding that Mālik wept as he related this to him.

13. The eloquent *qāṣṣ* and pupil of al-Ḥasan; the name *Dīnār* invariably denoted a slave or *mawlā*, often of Nabaṭī ethnic origin. See Iʿtizāl 96 & 341 (for his Qadarī reputation); Thiqāt V 383-4; Tahdhīb X 14-5 #15; Ch. Pellat in E.I.² VI 226b-7a; & Theologie II 91-3. Ibn Abī l-Dunyā composed a Kitāb Zuhd Mālik b. Dīnār (F.Nadīm 237). Mālik was said to transmit from the early Qadarī Maʿbad al-Juhanī, see Jarḥ VIII 280 #1282, & Zwischen 93 n.22. ʿAbdAllāh b. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal sometimes employs this *isnād* to report from Mālik in his *zawā'id*; see Ibn Ḥanbal, Zuhd II 299-313 *passim*. (A good portion of the *zawā'id* to Ibn Ḥanbal's Zuhd is derived from Jaʿfar al-Ḍubaʿī } Mālik.) But in most instances he

employs the chain: his father } Sayyār } Jaʿfar } Mālik; & several times the alternative form: *ukhbirtu ʿan Sayyār* } Jaʿfar... . For other reports by Jaʿfar } Mālik, see Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Samt 216 #48, 508 #515, & cf. 267 #119 (Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar } Jaʿfar al-Ḍubaʿī); idem, Dhamm al-Dunyā #s 17, 39, 57, 76, 132, 133, 362, 461; and al-Kharā'iṭī, Makārim al-Akhlāq (al-Silafī's *muntaqā*) 96 #210.

14. Reading *khalq* here, though the meaning *khuluq* 'a natural disposition' is plausibly implied. See below ch.2 §I for why *khalq* in these reports continually evokes *khuluq*.

15. "*Mā khalaqa llāhu khalqan aḥabba ilayhi\akrama ʿalayhi min al-ʿaql*"; al-Muḥāsibī [or al-Anṭākī?], Kitāb al-Khalwah, ed. ʿA.I. Khalīfah, al-Mashriq XLVIII/1954/189-91, XLIX/1955/43-54 & 451-90, on 451; al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Nawādir al-Uṣūl [Istanbul 1876] > al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā' I 86; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, al-ʿIqd al-Farīd [Cairo 1940] II 245; al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, al-Mufradāt fī Gharīb al-Qur'ān [Karachi 1961] 346. Van Ess (Gedankenwelt 75) once saw it as gnostic in tone. It is quite possible that such a "*ḥadīth*" may originally have been an early *ṭaraf* or abbreviation invoking the *Aqbil! Adbir!* report. Compare the report by the Syrian Baqiyyah b. al-Walīd al-Kalāʿī (d.197/812-3) *via* } al-Ḥasan: "*mā khalaqa llāhu mithla l-ʿaql*"; N. Abbott, Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri [Chicago 1957-72] II 222 lines 12-3.

For a differing emphasis on the rarity of *ʿaql* being more precious than the philosophers' stone, see the report ascribed to Muʿādh b. Jabal } *marfūʿ*: "*mā khalaqa llāhu fī l-arḍi shay'an aqalla min al-ʿaql wa inna l-ʿaqla fī l-arḍi aqallu min al-kibrīti l-aḥmar*"; al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, Kanz al-ʿUmmāl III 218 #1912 (from Ibn ʿAsākir, & the Musnad of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Rūyānī d.307/919-20); & Tanzīh

I 244 #146.

16. "*Mā ʿubida llāhu bi-shay'in afḍala min al-ʿaql*", normally prefacing the famous *ʿaql*-decad of character traits assigned to Luqmān by Wahb b. Munabbih ("...*wa mā yatimmu ʿaqlu imra'in ḥattā yakūna fī-hi ʿashru khiṣālin*..."); extracted as a separate maxim in Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, ʿAql 35 #21; Ḥilyat IV 40-1; Ibn al-Jawzī, Akhbār al-Adhkiyā', ed. M.M. al-Khūlī [Cairo 1970] 8. And as an anonymous maxim in Ibn Qutaybah, ʿUyūn al-Akhbār [Cairo 1924-30] I 280 > ʿIqd al-Farīd II 251: *qāla baʿḍu l-ḥukamā', "mā ʿubida llāhu bi-shay'in aḥabba ilayhi min al-ʿaql"*. Note the version on the family *isnād* of the Basran Bishr b. ʿUbayd al-Darīsī >> his grandfather: "*mā ʿubida llāhu bi-shay'in mithla l-ʿaql*"; Mīzān I 320 #1205. This maxim also occurs with the wording "...*bi-shay'in afḍala min fiqhin fī dīn*", where *fiqh* ('understanding*comprehension' regarding 'faith*obedience') is synonymous with *ʿaql*; see Ḥilyat II 192-3. Compare the saying of the Basran Qadarī Muṭarrif b. ʿAbdAllāh Ibn al-Shikhkhīr (d. 87/706 or 95/713-4), in Ibn Abī Shaybah, Muṣannaf [Bombay 1979-83] XIII 482 #16988 > Ḥilyat II 203.

For versions of this decalogue assigned to imams ʿAlī or al-Ṣādiq, see Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī, al-Amālī [Najaf 1964-5] I 152-3; & Uṣūl I *kitāb al-ʿaql wa l-jahl*, 18-9. And as a prophetic *ḥadīth*, in Ibn Bābawayh, ʿIlal, *bāb 96*, 115-6 #11, on a non-Imāmī *isnād*; idem, al-Khiṣāl > al-Majlisī, Biḥār al-Anwār [2nd ed. Beirut 1983] I 108 #4, via al-Bāqir } 'raised' to the Prophet. Also as a saying of Ibn Masʿūd, in al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, al-Akyās wa l-Mughtarrīn, ed. A.ʿA.-R. al-Sā'iḥ as Ṭabā'iʿ al-Nufūs [Cairo 1989] 64.

17. Eg. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d.911/1505), al-Durar al-Muntathirah fī l-Aḥādīth al-Mushtahirah [Cairo 1307, on margin of Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, al-Fatāwā l-Ḥadīthiyyah]

197-8; & ed. M. ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭā [Cairo 1987] 352-3 #342: "*la-hu aṣlan ṣāliḥan... mursal jayyid (al-isnād)*", ie. al-Suyūṭī was inclined to accept al-Ḥasan's *irsāl*. Also Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d.1205/1790), Itḥāf al-Sādat al-Muttaqīna bi-Sharḥ Asrār Iḥyā' ʿUlūm al-Dīn [Cairo 1311, & Beirut 1409/1989] I 455 & 474, rebutting the assertion that all the *ṭuruq* of the ***Aqbil! Adbir!*** report are 'weak' made by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāfiẓ al-ʿIrāqī in his al-Mughnī ʿan Ḥaml al-Asfār fī l-Isfār fī Takhrīj mā fī l-Iḥyā' min al-Akhbār [on margin of Iḥyā']. This version of the report did not escape Goldziher's attention; see ZA XXII 322, & 323 n.1, invoking Kāwaqjī, al-Lu'lu' al-Maṣnūʿ fī-mā lā Aṣla la-hu aw bi-Aṣlihi Mawḍūʿ [Cairo n.d.] 64: "*wa ḥaythu ukhtulifa fī-hi lā yaḥsunu l-ḥukmu ʿalayhi bi-l-waḍʿ*".

18. Compare Goldziher's gloss on this sentence (ZA XXII 319), "ie. My whole rule is accomplished by means of thee". His reading is a bit too broad, since *ʿaql* here is not the demiurge.

19. In this respect, a number of reports depict *ʿaql* as the chief 'tool' or 'instrument' (*ālah*, *ʿuddah*, & cf. *maṭiyyah* 'expedient') by means of which man accomplishes his religious duties; eg. Maṭālib III 14 #2746 > Tanzīh I 219 #116 (from Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar's K. al-ʿAql).

20. God as *al-Muʿṭī* in the broadest sense, Q 20:50 "*alladhī aʿṭā kulla shay'in khalqahu* He Who gave unto everything its proper form"; or more particularly the unrestricted divine gift of fortune in this world, 11:3 *yuʿṭī kulla dhī faḍlin faḍlahu* (& 11:108, 17:20); or in the Hereafter, 17:21 "*faḍḍalnā baʿḍahum ʿalā baʿḍin wa la-l-ākhiratu akbaru darajātin wa akbaru tafḍīlan* We have exalted

some of them over others (in this world); and surely the Hereafter shall be greater in degrees (of rank) and greater in surpassingness (than their excelling each other in this world)".

21. As a *qawl* of Muʿāwiyah b. Qurrah, in ʿUyūn al-Akhbār I 279; ʿAql 34 #19; also Ḥilyat II 300 > Ṣifat III 179 (listing the superogatory deeds); Ibn al-Jawzī, Adhkiyā' 8, & Dhamm al-Hawā 10. Further, ʿAql 28-9 #11 (raised to the Prophet) > Maṭālib III 12-3 #2741. This saying is paralleled by a teaching of the Medinan ʿAlid imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir (transmitted from al-Bāqir by the predestinarian Zaydī Abū Jārūd Ziyād b. al-Mundhir; see Theologie I 254-5), pointing to the idea's widespread currency; see Maḥāsin, *kitāb maṣābīḥ al-ẓulam, bāb al-ʿaql*, 195 #16 > Uṣūl I 11 #7.

22. Literally, "through thee I take [seize for sin]". Form I *akhadha* may mean III *ākhadha* 'chastise, blame, punish' (for sins); cf. Q 29:40 "*akhadhnā bi-dhanbihi* We seized for his sin", & 3:11, 40:21. Compare al-Bāqir's form of the ancient wisdom tale about the hermit and his wish for God's donkey (Maḥāsin 193 #10), where God says: "*anā u'ākhidhu ʿibādī ʿalā qadri mā aʿṭaytuhum min al-ʿaql* I shall punish my servants in proportion to (the measure) which I granted them of *al-ʿaql*".

23. See the report from the Musnad of Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī (d.203/818-9), ascribed to Abū Hurayrah: "*ya'tī l-Islāmu yawma l-qiyāmati fa-yaqūlu llāhu ʿazza wa jalla: anta l-Islāmu wa Anā "l-Salām", al-yawma bi-ka uʿṭī wa bi-ka ākhudhu*"; Maṭālib III *bāb al-Islāmi sharṭun fī qabūli l-ʿamal*, 52 #2855.

24. Jarḥ V 335 #1583; Tahdhīb VII 45-6 #83.

25. Abū Bishr, a famous *qāṣṣ* and *bakkā'* 'weeper' transmitting from Thābit al-Bunānī, al-Ḥasan, and Qatādah. Ṣāliḥ was a disciple of the Basran *ʿābid* ʿAṭā' al-Salīmī (an associate of Mālik b. Dīnār), of whom Ibn ʿAdiy remarks, "*wa lahu kalām daqīq fī l-zuhd*"; al-Maqrīzī, Mukhtaṣar al-Kāmil 611 #1527. Condemned as weak and *munkar al-ḥadīth*, Ṣāliḥ's personal piety (*ṣāliḥ*) did not spare the critics from warning against his reports, said to be riddled with errors such as 'raising' reports from al-Ḥasan or Thābit to Anas b. Mālik (sometimes employing 'collective' *isnāds*), or attributions to Abū Hurayrah. Such *manākīr* attributed to reliable authorities troubled the critics, despite their reluctance to discard his *riwāyah* entirely. See Jarḥ IV 395-6 #1730; F.Nadīm 235; al-Dāraquṭnī, Duʿafā' 106 #287; Kāmil IV 1378-81; T.Baghdād IX 305-10 #4845; Mīzān II 289-90 #3773; Tahdhīb IV 382-3 #641; Iʿtizāl 95; Zwischen 158-9; Theologie II 68-9.

26. A maxim of al-Ṣādiq defined *ʿaql* as: "*mā ʿubida bi-hi l-Raḥmān wa uktusiba bi-hi l-Jinān* that by which the All-Merciful is worshipped, and by which Paradise is earned"; Uṣūl I *kitāb al-ʿaql wa l-jahl*, 11 #13, on a very meagre *isnād*. A form of al-Ṣādiq's saying is reworked into the composite *waṣiyyah* of the Prophet to ʿAlī; Ibn Bābawayh, Man Lā Yaḥḍuruhu l-Faqīh [Najaf 1957] IV 267.

27. A Baghdadi deemed trustworthy or *ṣadūq*, yet said to transmit from weak authorities; Jarḥ VII 212 #1174; Thiqāt IX 88; T.Baghdād II 100-1 #496; Tahdhīb IX 75-6 #92 (= #93 ? al-ʿ*Ayshī*, a Basran Murji'ī).

28. The Medinan ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdAllāh b. Dhakwān al-Qurashī; son of the reputable Successor and *faqīh* Abū l-Zinād ʿAbdAllāh (d.130/747-8). Several of his teachers were

predestinarians who combatted Qadarī views, eg. Suhayl b. Abī Ṣāliḥ (d.138/755-6) and his colleague Muʿādh b. Muʿādh al-ʿAnbarī (d.196/812); see Zwischen 61, 85, 91, 94, & 145. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān later moved to Baghdad, where his reportage was said to have been corrupted by Baghdadis through *talqīn* (insinuating others' reportage into his materials), while his Medinese *riwāyah* was deemed *ṣāliḥ*. Learned in the Qur'ān, *akhbār*, *fiqh* & laws of inheritance (*farā'iḍ*), he transmitted a Kitāb Ra'y al-Fuqahā' al-Sabʿah (on the differing rulings of the 'seven jurists' of Medinah, F.Nadīm 282) from his father, which his rival the Medinan *faqīh* Mālik b. Anas disparaged. See Jarḥ V 252 #1201; T.Baghdād X 228-30 #5359; Tahdhīb VI 170-3 #353; Tradition 125-6.

29. A *mawlā* of the Zubayrid family in Medinah, and the elder brother of the important Medinan historian-*faqīh* Mūsā b. ʿUqbah (d.141/758-9; Tahdhīb X 360-2 #638, R.Ṭūsī 307 #430, & A.A. Duri\Conrad, Rise of Historical Writing 32 n.j). Deemed trustworthy or *shaykh, ṣāliḥ*, he was an informant for Mālik b. Anas & Sufyān al-Thawrī. See Jarḥ VIII 35 #159; Thiqāt VII 409; Mīzān III 649; Tahdhīb IX 345-6 #569; R.Ṭūsī 295 #247 (associate of al-Ṣādiq).

30. *Mawlā* of Ibn ʿAbbās; Jarḥ VII 167 #956; Thiqāt V 339; Tahdhīb VIII 433 #783; Fallātah, Al-Waḍʿ fī l-Ḥadīth II 16. Kurayb transmitted from Ibn ʿAbbās, Muʿāwiyah, ʿĀ'ishah, and several women of Banū Hāshim, while serving as an informant for the Banū ʿUqbah (the three brothers Muḥammad, Ibrāhīm, & Mūsā the *akhbārī*), al-Zuhrī, and Makḥūl. Kurayb's sons Rishdīn & Muḥammad (both 'weak': Tahdhīb III #527, IX #688, & Jarḥ III #2318 & VIII #307) transmitted his books. Mūsā b. ʿUqbah and his brothers reportedly took possession of a camel load of books from Kurayb (*waḍaʿa ʿindanā Kurayb ḥimla baʿīrin min kutub Ibn ʿAbbās*), with ʿAlī b.

ʿAbdAllāh b. al-ʿAbbās requesting copies of them from Mūsā; al-Khaṭīb, Taqyīd al-ʿIlm 136 > Tahdhīb VIII 433.

31. "*Qāla, yaqūlu wa huwa aʿlamu bi-hi...*"; unless the text is disturbed, this interjection represents a unique element in these reports.

32. Or: "I created nothing more pleasing to Me...".

33. Compare the version found in Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, ʿIqd II 244 > below #15 (where God creates both *ʿaql* and *ḥumq*): "*wa lā waḍaʿtuka illā fī aḥabbi l-khalqi ilayya*". Further, al-Muḥāsibī, Mā'iyyat al-ʿAql 201-2: *huwa gharīzatun waḍaʿahā llāhu subḥānahu fī akthari khalqih.*

34. See Q 3:73, 5:54, 57: 21 & 29, 62:4 — the refrain *dhālika faḍlu llāhi yu'tīhi man yashā'u*, referring to divine guidance and forgiveness (*huwa wāsiʿun ʿalīmun*), provided by God to whom He knows. Compare the prophetic *ḥadīth* given by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī depicting God's pre-cognising the saved and the damned among Adam's progeny on the *Yawm al-Mīthāq* as He sprinkles His light upon them (*...fa-qad ʿalima man yuṣībuhu wa man yukhṭi'uhu... thumma istanṭaqahum yawma'idh*); Adab al-Nafs, ed. al-Sā'iḥ [Cairo 1993] 93.

35. Taking *bi-* in this pair as 'reason or cause'. Or should one comprehend *bi-* here as 'amount' (above #1.c): "According to thy measure do I reward, and according to thy measure do I punish" ?

36. The preposition *ʿalā* here indicates something like: "according to your standard, on the basis of your performance". Contrast the phrases in other versions: *wa ʿalayka*

u'āqibu; or *iyyāka u'ātibu*.

With regard to *'alayka u'ātibu*, verb *'ātaba\yu'ātibuhu* 'he blamed*reproved him' may be construed as mutual friendly anger*reproach born out of reciprocal love, ie. the 'act of disciplining & rectifying evil habits & accepting reproof', involving a regaining of mutual favour [Lexicon *'.t.b.*]. Cf. reports #7 & 8.a; & below n.39.

37. "*Man ahdaytuka ilayhi akramtuhu, wa man ḥaramtuka/ḥarramtuka 'alayhi la'antuhu*"; see the form of reports #2 & #15; & above #1.c. Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī links this version with the theological notion of *kasb* (man 'acquiring' his deeds, which are created by God), adding after it: "*thumma l-'uqūlu mawāhibu llāhi Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā, wa l-ṭā'ātu makāsibu l-'ibādi wa lā tunālu l-makāsibu illā bi-l-mawāhibi* Thus the *'uqūl* are God's gifts, and acts-of-obedience are the acquisitions of men, and the acquisitions are not conferred save by means of the gifts"; Ma'rifat al-Asrār 38. Further, al-Muḥāsibī, Al-Qaṣd wa l-Rujū' ilā llāh, ed. Ḥ. al-Quwwatlī [Malta 1988] 135.

38. Similarly when he quotes a different version of it without *isnād* in his al-Akyās wa l-Mughtarrīn: "*fa-inna llāha Tabāraka wa Ta'ālā khalaqa l-'aqla fa-qāla [i.e.]-mā ruwiya 'an-hu [ya'nī 'an al-nabī], "aqbil!"...*"; see #5b below.

39. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī gave as exegesis of Q *al-Baqarah* 2:197 *wa ittaqūnī yā ulī l-albāb* and fear Me (alone) O men of understanding!: "*innamā 'ātabahum li-annahu yuḥibbuhum* (God) blamed them because He loves them"; 'Aql 53-4 #64. →

See the verse sometimes attributed to the Basran poet Bashshār b. Burd: *wa laysa ʿitābu l-mar'i li-l-mar'i nāfiʿan * idhā lam yakun li-l-mar'i ʿaqlu yuʿātibuhu;* Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Bahjat al-Majālis [Cairo 1962] I 539.

40. For his life and works see GAL I 540 & SI 748; & S. Leder, Ibn al-Ǧauzī und seine Kompilation wider die Leidenschaft [Beirut 1984] 15-42.

41. Uncertain, probably Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Marwazī, whom Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī deemed a 'liar'; Jarḥ VIII 16 #72; Tahdhīb IX 315 #518. Or possibly al-Rāzī, an informant for al-Nasā'ī; Jarḥ VIII 17 #73; Tahdhīb IX 314-5 #517.

42. The *akhbārī* scholar & genealogist, author of one of the earliest *rijāl* works Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā' wa l-Muḥaddithīn, whom critics had a low opinion of (Ibn Maʿīn: a 'liar'; Abū Ḥātim: *matrūk al-ḥadīth* like al-Wāqidī); Jarḥ IX 85 #350; Kāmil VII 256?-3; T.Baghdād XIV 50-4; GAS I 272; Ch. Pellat, E.I.² III 328. His father ʿAdiy b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭā'ī was said to transmit a *nuskhah* from the Basran predestinarian Dāwūd b. Abī Hind (Jarḥ VII 3 #10).

43. A reputable Kufan scholar and ascetic with marked Shīʿī inclinations, both Ḥusaynid and Ḥasanid. Versed in the Qur'ān and the *farā'iḍ*, he was held to be an expert in *rijāl* of *ḥadīths*, and was a leading figure among the Kufan anti-Murji'ī predestinarians. Among many others he transmitted from were the Kufans ʿAmr b. Murrah al-Jamalī and his son ʿAbdAllāh b. ʿAmr b. Murrah. See Jarḥ IV 146-7 #630; Tahdhīb IV 222-6 #376; R.Ṭūsī 206 #72 (associate of al-Ṣādiq); Tanqīh IIa 65-6 #5255; E. Kohlberg, E.Ir. I 926-8; Theologie I 237-9.

44. A highly regarded Kufan successor deemed trustworthy and noted for *faḍl*. He held Murji'ī and predestinarian views, transmitting from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, and was known for his *irsāl* on Ibn 'Abbās. Among his pupils were counted Sufyān al-Thawrī, Shu'bah b. al-Ḥajjāj (who lauded 'Amr for not performing *tadlīs*), al-A'mash, al-Awzā'ī, & his son 'AbdAllāh b. 'Amr. See Jarḥ VI 257 #1421; Tahdhīb VIII 102-3 #163; Theologie I 179.

Given 'Amr's Shī'ī inclinations, perhaps it is his son 'AbdAllāh (Jarḥ V 119 #546, Tahdhīb V 340 #581) who is named as an associate of Muḥammad al-Bāqir; R.Ṭūsī 131 #70. A scrutiny of this *isnād* suggests that al-A'mash may have transmitted this report from 'AbdAllāh b. 'Amr rather than his father; perhaps a case of *tadlīs* which al-A'mash was known for (E.Ir. I 926a).

45. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'AbdAllāh Ibn Sābiṭ, a Meccan Successor whose *irsāl* on leading Companions was popular, he belonged to the circle of Ibn 'Abbās in Mecca (*fī fuqahā' min aṣḥāb Ibn 'Abbās*); Jarḥ V 240 #1137 & 249 #1191; Tahdhīb VI 180-1 #361.

46. "*Bi-ka u'ṭī wa bi-ka ākhudhu*"; taking *bi-* here as 'measure'. Alternatively *bi-* as 'reason, cause': "On account of thee do I bestow, and on account of thee do I take away [man's *faḍl* in this-worldly fortune and\or provision of *'aql*, & other-worldly rank]".

47. Eg. in his Mawḍū'āt I 171-7, ten *'aql* reports are treated significantly in the chapter *kitāb al-mubtada'* 'Beginning (of creation)'. He also combed al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā' to purge it of all objectionable reports, in his I'lām al-Aḥyā' bi-Aghlāṭ al-Iḥyā' (cf. Goldziher, Muslim Studies

II 146, 249; & ZA XXII 320-1). In his omnibus of ascetic*mystic personalities Ṣifat al-Ṣafwah, he often ignored the material collected by Abū Nu'aym in the Ḥilyat. This conforms to the plan of his Ṣifat, intended to offer a 'corrected' or purified' version of Abū Nu'aym's book. Thus Ibn al-Jawzī specifically criticized Abū Nu'aym for having included specious materials from the early Ṣūfī teachers al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī and Aḥmad b. 'Āṣim al-Anṭākī (see Ṣifat I 3), two figures who provide important treatments of *'aql* in their teaching.

48. Dhamm al-Hawā, written between 560/1165 - 566/1171, covers not only the *akhlāq*, but the topic of love (*ḥubb & 'ishq*) from a moralizing traditionist perspective; see the studies by J.N. Bell, Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam [Albany 1979] 11-45; & Leder, Ibn al-Ǧauzī. Ibn al-Jawzī drew upon *zuhd* materials he assembled in his Ṣifat al-Ṣafwah, as well as from Abū Nu'aym's Ḥilyat & al-Sulamī's Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyyah, for the ethical part of Dhamm. Perhaps Dhamm is the same work sometimes referred to as Ṣawlat al-'Aql 'alā l-Hawā (not mentioned in GAL I 659-6 & S I 914-20).

49. Mentioned in his Adhkiyā' 9; Ibn Qudāmah made an abbreviation, Mukhtaṣar Minhāj al-Qāṣidīn [see *Addendum* B.]. Interesting materials related to the notion of *'aql* occur in his Akhbār al-Ḥumqā wa l-Mughaffalīn, and Kitāb al-Mudhish. These writings have remained extremely popular in Islamic culture until today.

50. His form of the *Adbir! Aqbil!* report in Dhamm 8, follows after a number of reports belonging to Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar which he admits are 'weak' (Dhamm 7); apparently Ibn al-Jawzī implies that Ibn Sābiṭ's version is more reli-

able. In his Rūḥ al-Arwāḥ [Cairo 1309] 32-3, 50f. (*Aqbil!*), & 69, Ibn al-Jawzī exemplifies one manner in which later predestinarian notions on *qadar*, the *lawḥ* & qalam, and *qalb* & *ʿaql* had become inextricably mingled.

51. However, the early 11th/17th century Ḥanbali scholar of Palestine and Egypt Marʿī b. Yūsuf al-Karmī, who reproduces Ibn al-Jawzī's opening section on *ʿaql* from Dhamm al-Hawā in his Munyat al-Muḥibbīn, cites this version of the *Aqbil!* report but returns the *iqbāl* of *ʿaql* to its prior place, seemingly with an eye to the text of report #1; see J.N. Bell, Love Theory 188, where this *Aqbil!* report is translated (reference by kindness of E. Kohlberg). Bell remarks that Marʿī cites al-Suyūṭī's favorable opinion of the *Aqbil!* report (see above n.17) despite Ibn Taymiyyah's rejection of it, probably as an oblique way of dissenting from the prevailing Ḥanbalī consensus on the report's weakness (ibid. 188-9).

52. Not published; critics specified that al-Ṭabarānī's Awsaṭ contained the same *matn* attributed to Abū Umāmah, and on two other 'weak' *isnāds* to Abū Hurayrah. See al-Suyūṭī, Durar al-Muntathirah [Cairo 1987] 353 (*mawṣūl min ḥadīth Abī Umāmah*); & ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣiddīq, Al-Tahānī fī l-Taʿaqqub ʿalā Mawḍūʿāt al-Saghānī [Cairo n.d.] 38. Al-Ṭabarānī's Awsaṭ was compared in scope and erudition to al-Dāraquṭnī's Al-Afrād. Al-Dhahabī remarks that he said of his Awsaṭ: *"hādhā l-kitāb rūḥī", fa-annahu taʿiba ʿalayhi wa fī-hi kullu nafīsin wa ʿazīzin wa munkar* (Ḥuffāẓ III 913). The fact that al-Ḥāfiẓ al-ʿIrāqī identified the report in Awsaṭ with the version quoted by al-Ghazālī (Iḥyāʾ I 83 n.3, *"awwalu mā khalaqa"*) probably reflects the habitual or intentional inability of most critics to distinguish between the two basic forms of the report; cf. apparatus in al-

Mu'jam al-Kabīr VIII 283 (quoting al-Haythamī, Majma' al-Zawā'id VIII 28: *rawāhu l-Ṭabarānī fī* l-Kabīr *wa* l-Awsaṭ).

53. Abū Hammām, Ibn Abī Badr; a slightly controversial Kufan-Baghdadi with wide contacts deemed *ṣadūq*. Ibn Ma'īn defended him (*laysa la-hu bakht mithl abīhi*); Jarḥ IX 7 #28; Mīzān IV 339-40 #9374; Tahdhīb XI 135-6 #226. His father Abū Badr Shujā' b. al-Walīd (d.205/820-1), a Kufan *'ābid* and *wāri'* living in Baghdad, was regarded favorably by Ibn Ḥanbal (*ṣadūq in shā' Allāh; shaykh ṣāliḥ*) to the point of receiving exhortations from him, while Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn called him a liar to his face but later had a change of mind; Jarḥ IV 378-9 #1654; Thiqāt VI 451; T.Baghdād IX 247-50 #4826; Mīzān II 264 #3668; Ḥuffāẓ I 328 #312; & Tahdhīb IV 313-4 #536.

54. Jarḥ IV 55 #242; a Basran *mawlā* who lived for a time in Damascus, deemed *munkar al-ḥadīth* by Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī. Any connection to the Basran-Damascene Qadarī, Sa'īd b. Bashīr al-Azdī (Theologie I 118-20)?

55. Mīzān III 206 #6146; Ibn Ḥajar, Lisān IV 360-1 #1745 (quoting al-'Uqaylī); deemed *majhūl & munkar al-ḥadīth*.

Given his shadowy status, other possibilities may include: eg. the Damascene "Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ash'arī" al-Azdī or al-Anṣārī (Tahdhīb XII 130-1 #s 607 & 608); & or the Basran-Damascene noted for *manākīr*, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Ṣāliḥ al-Azdī (Jarḥ VI 116 #628, Majrūḥīn II 87, Thiqāt VIII 443, Mīzān III 205-6 #6145). And cf. the Medinan 'Umar b. 'AbdAllāh *mawlā* Ghufrah (d.145\6), known for *irsāl* on Companions and *qiṣaṣ & raqā'iq*.

56. The Basran Successor Abū Ghālib *ṣāḥib Abī Umāmah*, whose name is given as Khazawwar. Variously *ṣāliḥ*, weak, or

trustworthy, he also transmitted from Anas b. Mālik, and served as an informant for Basran Qadarī pupils of al-Ḥasan such as Mālik b. Dīnār, al-Rabīʻ b. Ṣabīḥ, & Ḥammād b. Salamah. See Ibn Maʻīn, Maʻrifat al-Rijāl II 81 #186 & 91 #232; Jarḥ III 315 #1411; Kāmil II 860-1; Tahdhīb II 244 #445 & XII 197-8 #905 (& cf. XII #s 906-7, + Jarḥ VIII 455 #2086). Sometimes confused (?) with the Basran, Nāfiʻ\Rāfiʻ al-Khayyāṭ al-Bāhalī *mawlā* Khālid al-Qasrī.

57. Both La'ālī I 129 and Kanz read "*bi-ka l-thawāb* by means of thee is the reward".

58. Cf. W. Wright, A Grammar of the Arabic Language [3rd ed., Cambridge University Press, 1967] II 53,b: "that his intelligence and his knowledge may not become an argument against him/*ʻaqluhu wa ʻilmuhu ḥujjatan ʻalayhi*"; & 59,b: "learning is the soul's cognizance of what is for its good and for its hurt/*mā la-hā wa mā ʻalayhā*".

59. In his Nawādir al-Uṣūl (new ed. by Muṣṭafā ʻAbd al-Qādir ʻAṭā [Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-ʻIlmiyyah, 1991] I 133), al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī quotes this same version, giving only the 'encomium' and 'listing' ("*wa ʻizzatī mā khalaqtu khalqan...*"), again without *isnād*. He does so in the context of explicating the ancient maxim "*al-ʻaqlu dalīl al-mu'min* intelligence is the guide of the faithful"; & see below n.68. Thanks to E. Kohlberg for alerting us to this.

60. The Sunnī author Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Salīlī fl. early 4th/10th century; the grandson of ʻĪsā b. Shaykh b. al-Salīl (d.269/882-3), his father Aḥmad b. ʻĪsā (d.285/898) was briefly ruler of Diyār Bakr. For the author and his Fitan see Aghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, Al-Dharīʻah ilā Taṣānīf al-Shīʻah XVI 112 #174; & E. Kohlberg, A Medieval Muslim

Scholar at Work, Ibn Ṭāwūs and his Library [Leiden 1992] 169 #155. Ibn Ṭāwūs drew heavily from al-Salīlī's Fitan in compiling his Malāḥim, relying on a Mss. dated 307/919-20 based on the author's copy found in a school in Wāsiṭ.

61. A trustworthy Basran in touch with Ḥijāzīs, he transmitted from Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān and Wuhayb b. Khālid, serving as an informant for al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, and Mūsā b. Hārūn al-Ḥammāl; Jarḥ VI 29 #154; Tahdhīb VI 93-4 #196.

62. Abū Salamah, the Basran *faqīh*, qur'ān-reader and grammarian known for *nusk*, but blamed for reports on *ṣifāt Allāh*, or for *manākīr*. Like a number of other Basran grammarians (eg. al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad & Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlā'), Ḥammād was known as an opponent of the Qadariyyah-Muʿtazilah (Thiqāt VI 217; & Theologie II 85), yet he associated with the neo-Manichaean *zindīq* Ibn Abī l-ʿAwjā'. He transmitted from his maternal uncle Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl (d.142/759-60), Thābit al-Bunānī, Qatādah, and many other leading Basrans. His pupils included Sufyān al-Thawrī, Ibn Jurayj, Shuʿbah, Ibn al-Mubārak, and Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar. See Jarḥ III 140-2 #623; Thiqāt VI 216-7; Kāmil II 670-82; Mīzān I 590-5 #2251; al-Qifṭī, Inbāh al-Ruwāt I 329-30 #220; Tahdhīb III 11-6 #14; Zwischen 112f.; GAS IX 43; Theologie II 376f.

63. A noble Arab Kufan who despised the *mawālī*, he was *qāḍī* in Kufah and briefly in Basrah, where he imported Medinan reports (from ʿAṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ, al-Zuhrī, & ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb), as well as from the Syrian Qadarī Makḥūl and the Medinan-Yamāmī Qadarī Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr. He died in Rayy in the service of the ʿAbbāsid prince al-Mahdī. An associate of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq, and a colleague of the *akhbārī* Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, he was noted for *irsāl & tadlīs*,

and for altering wordings (*taghyīr al-alfāẓ, ziyādāt*). Esteemed by Shu'bah, critics deemed him *ṣadūq* & not a 'liar', though Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān & Ibn al-Mubārak dropped his reports. See Jarḥ III 154-6 #673; Tahdhīb II 196-8 #365; R.Ṭūsī 119 #55, 179 #241; Tanqīḥ I 254 #2321.

64. A late Damascene Successor deemed acceptable who moved to Kufah where he died (*kāna maktabuhu bi-l-Kūfah*). Al-Walīd transmitted from the Damascene *qāṣṣ\qāḍī* Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī (d. ca. 80/700) & al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and served as an informant for the Qadarī of Ḥimṣ Thawr b. Yazīd al-Raḥabī (d.153/770, Theologie I 114-7), & the Kufan Murji'ī Mis'ar b. Kidām (d.152/769 - 155/772, Theologie I 182-3). See Jarḥ IX 19 #78; Thiqāt V 493; Mīzān IV 567 #10558?; al-Mizzī, Tahdhīb al-Kamāl XXXI 40-2 #6716; Tahdhīb XI 139 #233.

His brother Yazīd (d.130/747-8) was a reputable *faqīh* serving as *qāḍī* for 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz near Damascus, pupil of the Basrans Anas & Ibn Sīrīn, the Meccan 'Aṭā', & Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī; and teacher of al-Awzā'ī, and the Qadarīs Sa'īd b. Abī 'Arūbah & Sa'īd b. Bashīr al-Azdī (who said of Yazīd: *"kāna ṣāḥib kutub", ya'nī annahu kāna balīghan*).

65. *Ṣāḥib Abī Umāmah;* a pious and prolific Damascene *faqīh, mawlā* to the Umayyad family of Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah (*per* al-Bukhārī), who boasted of having met forty Companions present at the battle of Badr, but was recognized for his *irsāl* (Ibn Ḥibbān: *rawā 'an aṣḥābi l-Nabiy Ṣ al-mu'ḍalāt*). Most critics admitted his contact with Abū Umāmah and many deemed him 'trustworthy', although Ibn Ḥanbal was convinced to the contrary and felt such reports were al-Qāsim's inventions; a number of later critics held him to be 'weak'. The widely varying critical opinions may be

explained by his Qadarī links. See Jarḥ VII 113 #649; Majrūḥīn II 211; Mīzān III 373-4 #6817; Tahdhīb al-Kamāl XXIII 383-91 #4800; Tahdhīb VIII 322-4 #581.

Al-Mizzī's notice listing his pupils (Tahdhīb al-Kamāl XXIII 384-5) is crawling with Syrian and Yamanī militant Qadarīs who were partisans of Ghaylān al-Dimashqī and\or were involved in the failed revolt of Yazīd III in 126/744, including Ḥafṣ b. Ghaylān (Theologie I 80-1), Thawr b. Yazīd, Thābit b. Thawbān (ibid. 96) & his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (ibid. 102-5), ʿUtbah b. Abī Ḥakīm al-Hamdānī (ibid. 109), al-ʿAlā' b. al-Ḥārith (ibid. 101-2), al-Waḍīn b. ʿAṭā' (ibid. 81-2), and Yazīd b. Yazīd b. Jābir (ibid. 97-9); further, ibid. I 123-9, & van Ess, "Les Qadarites et la Ǧailānīya de Yazīd III", Studia Islamica XXXI/1970/273-4.

66. For the notion of *maʿrifah* in general and the problem of man's knowledge of God, one may begin with Rosenthal, Knowledge Triumphant 129-42; al-Shahrastānī\Gimaret, Religions I, index s.v. "connaissance [de Dieu par l'homme]"; & Arnaldez, E.I.² VI 568b-9a. Thus the assertions by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (ʿIqd II 244): "*wa bi-l-ʿaql adraka l-nāsu maʿrifata llāhi ʿazza wa jalla wa lā yashukku fī-hi aḥadun min ahli l-ʿuqūl*"; and by Ibn al-Jawzī (Adhkiyā' 3): *inna ajalla l-ashyā'a mawhibata l-ʿaqlu fa-innahu l-ālatu fī taḥṣīli maʿrifati l-ilāh...*". This major theme held that "*maʿrifah* of God" comes from God and is present in man from birth, which inborn knowledge enables man to recognize God as Existent and Creator and Director of the cosmos. Another major line of development assumed that the knowledge provided by *ʿaql* as the faculty discriminating between true and false consisted of the religious commands and prohibitions; eg. ʿIqd II 248, "*bi-l-ʿaql ʿurifa l-ḥalālu wa l-ḥarāmu wa ʿurifat sharā'iʿu l-islāmi wa mawāqiʿu l-aḥkām*"; & al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, Al-Dharīʿah ilā Makārim al-Sharīʿah [Cairo 1985] 199f.

67. ʿAbdAllāh b. al-Mubārak, when asked what was the best thing given to man (*afḍalu mā uʿṭiya l-rajulu*), replied: "*gharīzatu ʿaqlin*"; Ibn Ḥibbān, Rawḍat al-ʿUqalāʾ 17 (twice, once on Wahb's nephew ʿAqīl b. Maʿqil b. Munabbih); & Ibn al-Jawzī, Dhamm al-Hawā 10. Cf. the answer given by the Meccan *ra'y* expert from the circle of Ibn ʿAbbās' pupils, ʿAṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ (d.114/732): "*al-ʿaqlu ʿan Allāh* comprehension of God"; Rawḍat al-ʿUqalāʾ 18. The early Basran ascetic Muṭarrif b. ʿAbdAllāh Ibn al-Shikhkhīr (d.87/706 or 95/713-4) invoked an anonymous wisdom saying:

> "The servant is not given anything more surpassing/*afḍalu min*, in addition to faith in God the Exalted, than *al-ʿaql*. It has been said/*yuqālu*: < A man's *dīn* 'obedience*faith' is not perfected until he perfects his *ʿaql*.> God only consigned *ʿaql* to a man in order that He shall deliver him by means of it some day [=Resurrection Day]." (Waṭwāṭ al-Kutubī, Ghurar al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-Wāḍiḥah 8. + First sentence in Ibn Abī Shaybah, Muṣannaf XIII 482 #16988; Ḥilyat II 203; Ibn al-Jawzī, Adhkiyā' 8; Ṣifat III 146. + Second sentence as an ancient *qawl* attributed to several Companions or the Prophet, eg. to al-Ḥasan in ʿAql 34 #18, 63 #93; & cf. al-Māwardī, Adab I 20.)

Another common reply was *khuluqun ḥasan*, in several *ḥadīth* wherein a bedouin asks the Prophet "*mā afḍalu mā uʿṭiya l-insān?*"; see eg. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Mūḍiḥ Awhām al-Jamʿ wa l-Tafrīq II 110; further, Ibn Abī Shaybah, Muṣannaf VI *kitāb al-adab, bāb ḥusn al-khuluq*, 87-8 #s 1-3, 90 #10; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl III 5 #s 42 & 43, 8 #s 81 & 82. This points to an old meaning of *ʿaql* as 'good manners', ie. 'wise and prudent behavior' (= moral-intelligence).

68. Eg. al-Muḥāsibī's treatment of this theme in Mā'iyyat al-ʿAql 202: "...*innamā ʿarrafahum Allāhu bi-l-ʿaqli min-hu, fa-bi-dhālika l-ʿaqli ʿarafūhu wa shahidū ʿalayhi bi-l-ʿaqli lladhī ʿarafūhu bi-hi min anfusihim bi-maʿrifati mā yanfaʿuhum wa maʿrifati mā yaḍurruhum*". Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī portrays *ʿaql* as created from the light of God's splendor, whose locus is the brain and whose rays are in the heart (*fī l-ṣadri bayna ʿaynayi l-fu'ād*), guiding man to acknowledgement and recognition of God as Creator and Lord of existence: "*fa-l-ʿaqlu khalqun makhlūqun min nūri l-bahā'i maqsūmun bayna l-muwaḥḥidīna min ladun Ādama..., fa-huwa mudabbirun li-amrihi wa āmirun wa zājirun wa mumayyizun wa dalīlun wa hādin wa mubṣirun, fī-hi ʿarafa rabbahu wa bi-hi ʿalima rubūbiyyatahu wa bi-hi naẓara ilā tadbīrihi wa ilā mā aẓhara li-khalqihi min mulkihi wa ʿajā'ibi qudratihi wa ṣanʿihi, wa bi-hi ʿarafa jawāhira l-umūri min amri l-dīn wa l-dunyā*"; Nawādir al-Uṣūl, 405 *aṣl #279*. Further on *ʿaql* as a 'light in the heart', below ch.4, & ch.6 §III.

69. See Zwischen 106, & 101-14 generally for his discussion of the *fiṭrah* notion in early *ḥadīth*; & van Ess, Anfänge 13, 16, 45, 56, & 202; Theologie I 73-5 (on Ghaylān's political involvement), 97, 102, 125 (on the Ghaylāniyyah). Van Ess characterizes Ghaylān's *qadarī* beliefs: "...men are determined above all by their reason (*ʿaḳl*) in the direction of freedom of action"; E.I.² IV 370. He also points to its appropriation by the early Muʿtazilah, and with the Baghdadi Ṣūfī al-Muḥāsibī; Zwischen 114, *fiṭrah* identified with *ʿaql* as God-given in *mīthāq*; & see al-Muḥāsibī, Fahm al-Qur'ān 264.

70. Referred to by van Ess in Zwischen 158, & Anfänge 45 & 202. The incident is reported from Dāwūd by the Basran Saʿīd b. ʿĀmir al-Ḍubaʿī (122/740 - 208/823-4), and

allegedly took place in Syria. It is a good example of what van Ess terms "actualized *kalām*".

71. A reputable pupil of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and avid opponent of the proto-Muʿtazilī ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd; Jarḥ III 411-2 #1881; Ḥuffāẓ I 146-8 #140; Tahdhīb III 204-5 #388.

72. The term *adyān* (sing. *dīn*) is open to other renderings, eg. 'piety', 'mode of conduct or behavior', or 'recompense'. It is best construed here in the archaic meaning *dīn* = 'faith*obedience'.

73. See M. Bernand, "Le *ʿilm* chez les premiers Muʿtazilites", Studia Islamica XXXVI/1972/23-45 & XXXVII/1973/27-56, *passim* & (1972) 24-5; & eg. *al-Qāḍī* ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamdānī, Al-Mughnī [Cairo 1965] XI *al-Taklīf* 375-87 (*fī bayān mā'iyyati l-ʿaql wa mā yattaṣilu bi-hi*), also 481-501, 511-515 (on *kamāl al-ʿaql*).

74. While most of the early Murji'ah were generally strict predestinarians, the Qadarī school of Ghaylān's followers in Basrah were sometimes said to hold an extreme Murji'ī doctrine equating *īmān* with *maʿrifah fī l-qalb* 'knowledge in the heart', a view also associated with the early theologian Jahm b. Ṣafwān; W. Madelung, "Murdji'a", E.I.² VII 606; T. Izutsu, Concept of Belief in Islamic Theology [Tokyo 1965] 103f.; & the discussion by van Ess in Theologie I 130-2. Was the association of *qadar* with *irjā'* behind the designation of al-Faḍl al-Raqāshī's circle as the "*Faḍliyyah*"?; see van Ess, Zwischen 121-2, & Anfänge muslimischer Theologie 243-4.

75. Deemed weak & *munkar al-ḥadīth*, a number of Medinan

and Basran authorities were his informants; Jarḥ III 179-80 #773; Majrūḥīn II 17; Kāmil II 797-8; Mīzān I 563-4 #2135 & III 356 #6740; Lisān II 326f.; & Tradition 224.

76. The Basran *qāṣṣ* and Qadarī theologian-propagandist holding Murji'ī views; a pupil of al-Ḥasan, Anas, and of his uncle Yazīd b. Abān al-Raqāshī, he was close to Ghaylān al-Dimashqī. See eg. al-Jāḥiẓ, Bayān I 290-1 & 306-8; Abū Zur'ah al-Rāzī, Ḍu'afā' II 338-9; Jarḥ VII 64-5 #367; Kāmil VI 2039-40; Ḥilyat VI 206; Mīzān III 356 #6740; Tahdhīb VIII 283-4 #519; I'tizāl 96 & 342; al-Shahrastānī\Gimaret, Religions I 426 n.54; Zwischen 121-2; & Theologie II 167-74. Later critics dubbed him a Mu'tazilī, probably because he was an informant for 'Amr b. 'Ubayd.

77. The Basran ascetic, a *mukhaḍram* who accepted Islam during 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's Caliphate and fought in the wars of conquest in Iran, settling in Kufah then abandoning it for Basrah after the murder of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī. He transmitted from important Companions and was deemed trustworthy, though blamed for changing wordings of reports (Ibn Ma'īn, Ma'rifat al-Rijāl II 228 #784). His death date is sometimes given as early as 75/694-5; Jarḥ V 283-4 #1350; Thiqāt V 75; Tahdhīb VI 277-8 #546.

78. "*Mā khalaqtu khalqan khayran min-ka wa lā akrama min-ka wa lā afḍala min-ka wa lā aḥsana min-ka*". The conjunction of *khayr, karam, faḍl, & ḥusn* in this 'encomium' lends support to viewing *khalq* through the lens of *khuluq*; see ch.2 § I.C.

79. However, since al-'Uqaylī, Ibn 'Adiy, Ibn al-Jawzī's Mawḍū'āt I 174, & al-Suyūṭī's La'ālī I 129, do not include this phrase when quoting this version, its presence in Ibn

Abī l-Dunyā's ʿAql may be questioned. Most probably his text has suffered *taḥrīf* or editorial redaction by a later transmitter or copyist. A likely solution is to emend the text of ʿAql at this point to "*wa bi-ka uʿbadu* and by means of thee am I worshipped", followed by "*wa bi-ka uʿrafu*", as in the version of report #1 given by al-Bayhaqī *via* Ṣāliḥ al-Murrī) al-Ḥasan. Yet this is not supported by the texts in sources later than Ibn Abī l-Dunyā.

If Ibn Abī l-Dunyā indeed preserved an original feature of al-Faḍl al-Raqāshī's report, which became excised in later sources for ideological motives, then the verb *ʿazza\yaʿizzu*, passive *yuʿazzu*, may be: 1) intransitive, <God is exalted or cherished through the agency of man's *ʿaql*>; 2) transitive *ʿazzahu\yaʿuzzuhu bi-*, <God is strengthened*aided by means of man's *ʿaql*> (perhaps fitting with al-Faḍl al-Raqāshī's particular Qadarī views; see Theologie II 169-70); or 3) grammatically possible, *yaʿuzzu* 'to overcome in argumentative contest' (cf. Q 38:22 "*wa ʿazzanī fī l-khiṭāb* he has been overbearing to me in his speech", + the old-Arab proverb "*man ʿazza bazza* He who overcomes takes the spoil" [Lexicon ʿ.z.z]), <God overcomes in argument through man's *ʿaql*> — in tune with the notion of *ʿaql* = *al-ḥujjah* God's 'conclusively overwhelming argument'.

80. Ibn al-Jawzī, Mawḍūʿāt, instead reads "*bi-ka uʿāqibu* by means of thee I punish"; while the two places in Kāmil & in Laʾālī have "*iyyāka uʿāqibu* thee alone I punish". Cf. above report #5.b n.36; & #10 below.

81. Following the unanimous readings of al-ʿUqaylī, Ibn ʿAdiy, Ibn al-Jawzī, & al-Suyūṭī. The text of ʿAql has "*wa bi-ka l-thawāb* by means of\on account of thee is the reward"; compare reports #5 & #8.

82. Dubbed Ḥufayṣ, also known as Ḥafṣ b. Abī Dāwūd; he passed down the Qur'ān readings of his step-father ʿĀṣim b. Bahdalah (d.128/745-6). Deemed *ṣāliḥ*, or even *thiqah* by the Kufan Wakīʿ b. al-Jarrāḥ, yet generally 'weak' & *matrūk al-ḥadīth*, he was labelled a 'liar' by Ibn Maʿīn. Shuʿbah blamed him for copying books without *samāʿ* (Jarḥ III 173: (عوز) *kāna yastaʿīru kutuba l-nās*), and critics pointed to his *manākīr* & *bawāṭīl* (inverting *isnāds* & 'raising' *mursal* reports). See Jarḥ III 172 #741 & 173-4 #744; Mīzān I 558; al-Mizzī, Tahdhīb al-Kamāl VII 10f.; Tahdhīb II 400-2 #700; R.Ṭūsī 176 #181 (associate of al-Ṣādiq: *asnada ʿanhu*); Tanqīḥ I 352 #3072.

83. The transformation of "Ḥafṣ Abū ʿUmar" into "Ḥafṣ ibn ʿUmar" could represent a typical case of *tadlīs*, if not simply *taqallub* or mere *khaṭa'*. Any connection with the Basran Murji'ī *qāḍī* Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. ʿĀmir al-Sulamī (Jarḥ VI 126-7 #689; Tahdhīb VII 466-7 #775; Theologie II 166)? Or with Ḥafṣ b. Sālim (Salm\Aslam?), the *dāʿī* of Wāṣil b. ʿAṭā' to Khurāsān (Iʿtizāl 241; Mīzān I 555 & 557) ?

84. Jarḥ III 178-9 #770 & 180 #775; Tahdhīb XII 108 #504. Or even with another Basran, eg. Jarḥ III 177 #764, 184 #794; Tahdhīb II 409-10 #716; & Mūḍiḥ II 46-7.

85. From Ḥimṣ, a pupil of Mālik b. Anas, the Ḥanafī jurist Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, Ibn Abī l-Zinād, & ʿUbaydAllāh b. ʿAmr al-Raqqī; he belonged to a group of Syrian jurist-traditionists who promoted *irjā'*, and opposed Qadarī notions. See Jarḥ IX 158 #657; Mīzān IV 386 #9545; Tahdhīb XI 229-31 #371 (*ṣāḥib ra'y, jahmī*); GAS I 103; & Theologie I 139.

86. An ascetic & *ṣāliḥ*, known for blatently falsifying

reports and dubbed a 'liar' by Ibn Maʿīn & Ibn Ḥanbal; Jarḥ IV 277 #1193; Majrūḥīn I 346; Mīzān II 256; al-Mizzī, Tahdhīb al-Kamāl XII 328f.; Tahdhīb IV 296-7 #508.

87. Probably identical with the Shīʿī Kufan *faqīh* Abū Muḥammad al-Faḍl\al-Fuḍayl b. ʿUthmān al-Aʿwar al-Murādī al-Anbārī, a leading partisan of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq, also referred to as "al-Fuḍayl al-Aʿwar"; Jarḥ VII 70 #s 400, 401 (*ʿan-hu l-Thawrī*), & #403?; R.Ṭūsī 132 #3, 270 #1, 272 #24; F.Ṭūsī 126 #s 557 & 558; R.Najāshī II 169-70 #839; Tanqīḥ IIb 14 #s 9509 & 9510. He was an associate (R.Kishshī 190-1 #333) of the Shīʿī theologian Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Nuʿmān "Mu'min\Shayṭān al-Ṭāq", for whom see Theologie I 336-42.

88. But cf. van Ess' suggestion concerning al-Faḍl's employment of *ʿaql* as derived from Ghaylān's notion of *fiṭrah*, involving man's power of decision; Theologie II 170.

89. Uncertain; perhaps the ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Abū ʿAmr al-ʿAbdī listed by B. Radtke, Al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmiḏī 19 #16. Possibly to be identified with ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Yaḥyā al-Dabīlī (Mīzān II 608 #5040), the pupil of Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān b. ʿUmārah (disciple of the Qadarī Ṣūfī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd), and an informant for Ibn Abī l-Dunyā (eg. Makārim al-Akhlāq 11 #51, & Dhamm al-Dunyā 118 #s 303-4).

90. Abū Sulaymān, al-Ṭā'ī al-Bakrāwī, the Basran-Baghdadi who authored one of the earliest compilations of *ʿaql* reports, his notorious Kitāb al-ʿAql. Dāwūd's ancestors were not Arabs of the Bakrāwī nobility in Basrah, but apparently descendants of a Persian *mawlā* Qaḥdham attached to the Bakrāwī clan; see Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, Dhikr Akhbār Iṣbahān [New Delhi 1985] II 165. Dāwūd col-

lected *ḥadīth* in Iraq early in life, then went into seclusion on ʿAbbādān island joining the group of Ṣūfīs gathered in the conventicle (*ribāṭ*) established by the pupil of al-Ḥasan, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd. Late in life Dāwūd moved to Baghdad and transmitted his stock of pious reports to the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, being blamed by the critics for errors and textual blunders (*kāna yukhṭi'u kathīran wa yuṣaḥḥifu*) and for *manākīr*. See al-Bukhārī, Ta'rīkh II.1, 244 #837; Abū Zurʿah al-Rāzī, Ḍuʿafā' II 509-10 & 615 #97; al-ʿUqaylī, Ḍuʿafā' II 35 #458; Jarḥ III 424 #1931; Majrūḥīn I 286-7; Kāmil III 965-7; al-Dāraquṭnī, Ḍuʿafā' 87 #208; T.Baghdād VIII 359-62 #4459; Mīzān II 20 #2646; Tahdhīb III 199-201 #381; al-Mizzī, Tahdhīb al-Kamāl VIII 443-9; & Theologie I 226, & II 119-20.

The critical view that Dāwūd was a 'liar' who falsified and stole *ḥadīth* was repeatedly asserted, yet Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn defended his integrity as a traditionist ("*laysa bi-kadhdhāb*", Kāmil III 965 & al-ʿUqaylī, Ḍuʿafā' II 35). Over time the image of him became cemented in place as a "Muʿtazilī" (ie. the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*'s way of designating 2nd/8th century Qadarī Ṣūfīs) whose reportage was totally to be rejected. Yet his *ʿaql* reports continued to be exploited by Ṣūfīs as well as by certain of the Shīʿah for centuries. The texts of thirty-eight Prophetic *ḥadīth*s transmitted by Dāwūd dealing with *ʿaql* may be examined in Ibn Ḥajar, Maṭālib al-ʿĀliyyah [Kuwayt 1973] III 13-23, 214-6; and in Ibn ʿArrāq al-Kinānī, Tanzīh al-Sharīʿah al-Marfūʿah [Cairo 1378] I 213-20. We are preparing a monograph on this individual and his importance for later Islamic thought.

91. Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan b. Wāṣil al-Tamīmī, a Basran *mawlā* of Banū Sullayṭ and reputed Qadarī deemed a liar or weak. He transmitted a large number of *gharīb* reports which were coolly received by Iraqi tradents; Ibn al-Mubārak abandoned his reports in conformity with the consensus of

his Basran associates. See Jarh III 11-2 #37; Kāmil II 710-7; Mīzān I 487-9 #1843; Tahdhīb II 275-6 #502; I'tizāl 91, 103, 342; & Theologie II 60.

92. The text of La'ālī I 130 has "*intaliq! fa-intalaqa*", which may mean "Break out in speech!...".

93. The text of Kanz concludes by appending an otherwise unattested sentence: "*wa mā akramtuka bi-shay'in afḍala min al-ṣabr* I did not confer upon thee anything more surpassing than 'long-suffering'". Early wisdom sayings often linked *'aql* with *ṣabr*, as well as with the traits of *ḥilm*, *wara'*, & *yaqīn*.

94. Eg. the ancient maxim "*al-mar'u bi-aṣgharayhi qalbuhu wa lisānuhu* Man consists of his two smallest parts, his heart and his tongue"; invoked by 'Amr b. Ma'dīkarib al-Zubaydī, in A.Z. Ṣafwat, Jamharat Khuṭab al-'Arab I 63; & versions by Ḍamrah b. Ḍamrah al-Tamīmī and Aktham b. Ṣayfī, ibid., 66 & 137. The Umayyad Caliph Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik (rg. 96/715 - 99/717) cited anonymous verses ('Iqd al-Farīd II 241): "*wa mā l-mar'u illā l-aṣgharāni lisānuh wa ma'qūluh [='aql] wa l-jismu khalqun muṣawwaru*". Echoed in verses by the Basran *zindīq* fond of *ḥikmah*, Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Quddūs (executed 167/783-4), in Bahjat al-Majālis I 539, & T.Baghdād IX 304. The wisdom background of 'tongue & heart' is obvious; cf. the classic tale about Luqmān dressing a sheep for his master, in Ibn Abī Shaybah, Muṣannaf XIII 214 #16141; Ibn Ḥanbal, Zuhd I 167; & cf. Heller & Stillman, E.I.² V 812 (parallels to Aesop).

95. Eg. the early maxim often attributed to al-Ḥasan, "*mā 'aqala dīnahu man lam yaḥfaẓ lisānahu*"; Ibn al-Mubārak, Zuhd 131 #390; Ibn Ḥanbal, Zuhd II 237-8; Abū Bakr Aḥmad b.

ʻAmr al-Shaybānī, Zuhd [Beirut 1988] 24 #40; Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Samt 207-8 #34.

96. Ed. ʻA.A. Ḥikmat [Tehran, Dānishgāh 1331-39/1952-60] I 442 (no *isnād*, apparently a "*lammā khalaqa*" form, in the context of Q 2:164); translated in Sachiko Murata, The Tao of Islam [Albany 1992] 212-3. We quote this version in Murata's translation. Maybudī drew heavily on his teacher the Khurāsānian master Khawāja ʻAbdAllāh al-Anṣārī (d.481/1089), who could have been his source for this version. Al-Anṣārī's teaching claimed descent from the classical Baghdadi Ṣūfīs of the 3rd & 4th centuries AH.

97. Maybudī comments (ibid.) that *ʻaql* is the fetter (*ʻiqāl*) of the heart, and that it "is the precondition for being addressed by God, but its existence does not mean that God will necessarily address a person. ... The servant's obedience is earned, but obedience cannot be put in order without that [divine] gift [of *ʻaql*], and that gift cannot function without God's bestowal of success/*tawfīq*"; trans. Murata, Tao of Islam 212b.

The notion of *tawfīq* played a role in theological debates in which *ʻaql* played a role from the first century, where people are either guided by God to the good, or freely choose the good based on an innate 'capacity' and resulting just reward from God; see van Ess, Anfänge 13, 54-6. Compare al-Muḥāsibī's formulation stressing the nexus of *ʻaql* with 'saving-grace': "*li-kulli shay'in jawharun wa jawharu l-insāni l-ʻaqlu, wa jawharu l-ʻaqli l-tawfīq* everything has an 'essential constitution', and the essential constitution of the human is intelligence, while the essential constitution of intelligence is (God's bestowal of) saving-grace"; T.Baghdād VIII 213.

98. Probably the Naysābūrī Abū Muḥammad al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaqī al-Sha'rānī (d.282/895-6), rather than the Kufan al-Faḍl b. Dukayn (d.219/834); see B. Radtke, Al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmiḏī 22. For the former, a dedicated Shī'ī (*ghālī*) unknown to Twelver bio-bibliographic sources, see Jarḥ VII 69 #393; Mīzān III 358 #6747.

99. *Mawlā banī Umayyah*, a *muftī* deemed *ṣadūq*; Jarḥ IX 57 #235; Tahdhīb XI 37-8 #77. Hishām was the pupil of the leading Syrian tradents Baqiyyah b. al-Walīd & al-Walīd b. Muslim, and of Damascene Murji'īs such as al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā al-Khushanī (see below ch.3 report #16) and Muḥammad b. Shu'ayb b. Shābūr al-Qurashī of Beirut (d.200/816, see Theologie I 138). Ibn 'Adiy al-Jurjānī (see Kāmil II 736-7) was in possession of a *juz'* by Hishām b. Khālid containing his reports on } al-Ḥasan al-Khushanī.

100. Conforming to the Mss. reading "*inṣit! fa-naṣata* Hearken! so he fell quiet, listening", rather than the emendation of the editor who reads form IV *anṣit! fa-anṣata*.

101. Taking *isma'! fa-sami'a* in the Qur'ānic sense where *sam' & 'aql* converge; eg. IV *asma'ahu* 'he made him to understand', as in the verses cited at the beginning of this chapter.

102. See Margaret Smith, Al-Muḥāsibī: An Early Mystic of Baghdad [London 1935, repr. Amsterdam 1974] 93-4, quoting his Naṣā'iḥ and Kitāb al-Mustarshid; & van Ess, Die Gedankenwelt des Ḥārit al-Muḥāsibī [Bonn 1961] 75.

103. Interestingly, the version quoted without *isnād* by Miskawayh (d.421/1030) in his Fī l-'Aql wa l-Ma'qūl (ed. M

Arkoun in Arabica XI/1964/80-7, on 83; & trans. Gr. Cuvelier, Arabica XXXVII/1990/115-22), offers a version of the report al-Muḥāsibī cited in Naṣā'iḥ, including a form of this elaborate 'encomium' ("...*wa qadarī ʿalā khalqī*"); but giving only the four elements of the 'testing' as in al-Faḍl's report #7 (*qum!*), and with some variants in the 'listing' ("*bi-ka uʿrafu wa bi-ka uʿbadu*"). Arkoun doubts the authenticity of this first part of Miskawayh's epistle containing *ḥadīths* on *ʿaql*, perhaps unnecessarily given this moral philosopher's deep concern with *ḥikmah* and ethics.

104. Ibn al-Jawzī (d.597/1201), Mawḍūʿāt I 174-5, & see Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d.748/1347), Tartīb al-Mawḍūʿāt [Cairo 1986] 56-7 #73; Abū l-Faḍā'il al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī (d.650/1252), al-Mawḍūʿāt [Beirut 1985] 9 #26, + its useful 14th/20th century critique by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣiddīq, al-Tahānī fī l-Taʿaqqub ʿalā Mawḍūʿāt al-Ṣaghānī [Cairo n.d.] 36-9; al-Suyūṭī (d.911/1505), La'ālī I 129-30; ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibn ʿArrāq al-Kinānī (d.963/1556), Tanzīh I 203-4 #64; Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. ʿAlī al-Hindī al-Fatanī (d.986/1578), Tadhkirat al-Mawḍūʿāt [Beirut & Damascus, n.d.] 28-9; Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad = Mullā ʿAlī al-Qārī al-Harawī (d.1014/1605-6), al-Asrār al-Marfūʿah fī l-Akhbār al-Mawḍūʿah (=al-Mawḍūʿāt al-Kubrā) [Beirut 1985] 188 #s 732 & 733, 317 #1220; idem, al-Maṣnūʿ fī Maʿrifat al-Ḥadīth al-Mawḍūʿ (=al-Mawḍūʿāt al-Ṣughrā) [Aleppo 1969] 205-6 #s 456-7; Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, Silsilat al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍaʿīfah wa l-Mawḍūʿah [3rd pr., Damascus 1392-] I 11f.

Works [not seen] of interest: Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan Ibn ʿAsākir (d.571/1176), Ta'rīkh Madīnat Dimashq; al-Suyūṭī, Dhayl al-Mawḍūʿāt I 1-13 (= texts + *isnāds* of reports from the *ʿaql* books by Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar & Sulaymān b. ʿĪsā al-Sijzī).

105. See T.Baghdād VIII 360 (*tarjamah* of Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar), quoted by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī as a remark reported to him by his teacher from Tyre, Abū ʿAbdAllāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṣūrī (d.441/1049-50 in Baghdad), which al-Ṣūrī had heard in Sidon from his teacher, the Egyptian traditionist-critic Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ghaniy b. Saʿīd al-Azdī (d.409/1018-9) directly from al-Dāraquṭnī. Repeated in slightly abbreviated form by al-Dhahabī (Mīzān II 20), Ibn al-Jawzī (Mawḍūʿāt I 176), and al-Suyūṭī (La'ālī I 128). The fuller form is quoted by al-Mizzī (Tahdhīb al-Kamāl VIII 447) and Ibn Ḥajar (Tahdhīb III 200). Ignaz Goldziher was the first Occidental scholar to discuss it (ZA XXII 319-20 & 341-3). More recently it has been discussed by three Arab scholars; Ḥusayn al-Quwwatlī, intro. to his ed. of al-Muḥāsibī, al-ʿAql wa Fahm al-Qur'ān 127f.; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, al-Islām wa l-ʿAql [Beirut 1974] 30f.; & Maḥmūd ʿAlī al-Jūzū, Mafhūm al-ʿAql wa l-Qalb fī l-Qur'ān wa Sunnah [Beirut 1980] 136f. Also see S. Ḥasan Abdul Ghaffār, Criticism of Ḥadīth Among Muslims with Reference to Sunan Ibn Māja [London 1986] 209-10.

106. This is an oft-repeated refrain met with in late *ḥadīth* criticism when the topic concerns *ʿaql*. Eg. it is echoed by the Damascene pupil of Ibn Taymiyyah, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (d.751/1350) in al-Manār al-Munīf fī l-Ṣaḥīḥ wa l-Ḍaʿīf [Aleppo 1970] 66-7: "*aḥādīth al-ʿaql kulluhā kadhib*", then quoting al-Dāraquṭnī's famous pedigree of the *kutub al-ʿaql*, and referring to similar views by al-ʿUqaylī, Abū l-Fatḥ al-Azdī (d.367 or 374), and Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī. See Ṣ.-D. al-Munajjid, al-Islām wa l-ʿAql 29.

107. Notably the works by al-Munajjid, al-Shaykh al-Jūzū, al-Quwwatlī (see above n.105), and al-Quwwatlī, al-

Tasawwuf al-'Aqlī fī l-Islām [Malta, Dar Iqrā' 1988] intr. 5-33. We have not seen the critical work of the Lebanese scholar Dr. Karīm 'Azqūl, al-'Aql fī l-Islām [Cairo, Maktabat Ṣādir, n.d.], focusing on al-Ghazālī's notion of *'aql* (gratitude to *maestro* Jihād 'Azqūl for this reference).

Other 20th century works treating the problem of *'aql* in *ḥadīth* in one way or another include: the former *Shaykh al-Islām* of the Ottoman empire, Muṣṭafā Ṣabrī, Mawqif al-'Aql wa l-'Ilm wa l-'Ālim min Rabb al-'Ālamīn wa 'Ibādihi al-Mursalīn [Cairo, 'Īsā l-Bāb al-Ḥalabī, 1950 = 4 vols.]; the former rector of al-Azhar *al-Shaykh* 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, al-Islām wa l-'Aql [Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthah, 1966]; 'Alī Shalaq, al-'Aql fī l-Qur'ān [Beirut, Dār Ib'ād li-l-Ṭibā'ah, 1984].

108. Eg. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā's popular reissue of the sections on *'aql* from al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā' & al-Muḥāsibī's Mā'iyyat al-'Aql, in: Sharaf al-'Aql wa Māhiyyatuh [Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1st pr. 1986].

109. Recently Professor M.'A. Amir-Moezzi has treated early Twelver *'aql* reports in his remarkable work Le Guide Divin dans le Shī'isme Originel [Lagrasse 1992] 15-33 & *passim*, > trans. D. Streight, The Divine Guide in Early Shī'ism, The Sources of Esotericism in Islam [Albany 1994] 6-13. It is a pity that he studied the Shī'ī reports in isolation from the wider materials available from the corpus of Sunnī *Ḥadīth*, particularly the so-called *ḍa'īf* or *munkar* traditions preserved in early *Zuhd* and *Akhlāq* writings or in *ḥikam*, outside of the Six canonical collections. This leads him to ignore their theological import and to misconstrue their meaning in places in favor of a cosmogonic or more occultist reading. See our review in Taḥqīqāt-i Islāmī [Tehran, Journal of the Encyclopaedia Islamica Foundation]

IX/1994/221-38; also reviewed by E. Kohlberg in Arabica XLII/1995/285-8.

110. See eg. Ḥusayn al-Quwwatlī, al-Taṣawwuf al-ʻAqlī fī l-Islām 5-106; and the continuing and deepening interest in the thought of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī in publications from Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Germany.

111. We have not seen the later Najaf edition (1385/1964) by Muḥammad Ṣādiq *Baḥr al-ʻUlūm*. For Aḥmad al-Barqī: F.Nadīm 276-7; R.Najāshī I 204-7 #180; F.Ṭūsī 20-2 #55; R.Ṭūsī 398 #8 & 410 #16; Ibn Shahrāshūb, Maʻālim al-ʻUlamā' [ed. ʻA. Iqbāl, Tehran 1353Q] 9-10; al-Masʻūdī, Murūj al-Dhahab [Beirut 1966-79] I 13 (ref. to al-Barqī's Kitāb al-Tibyān); Ch. Pellat, E.I.² S 127a-8a; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Muḥaddith's intro. to his edition of Maḥāsin, jīm f.; & Mīzān I 150 #588 (*kadhdhāb, wa kāna yafhamu l-ḥadīth*). An associate of the 10th imam al-Hādī (d.254/868), and said to have been in touch with the 11th imam al-ʻAskarī, he was blamed for *marāsīl* and reporting on 'weak' authorities (al-Najāshī: *thiqatun fī nafsih yarwī ʻan al-ḍuʻafā' wa iʻtamada l-marāsīl*), a charge prompted perhaps by his transmitting from non-Imāmī scholars. A glimpse of the Shīʻī circle he belonged to is given in R.Kishshī 557-8 #1053; al-Najāshī mentions his Kitāb Akhbār al-Aṣamm, which may reflect his theological interests. For a rather differing assessment of Aḥmad al-Barqī's significance for Twelver tradition, see Amir-Moezzi, Guide Divin 54; & idem, in Journal Asiatique CCLXXX/1992/240.

112. His Kitāb al-ʻAql is mentioned in F.Ṭūsī 20, & Ibn Shahrāshūb, Maʻālim 10, & Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, Muʻjam al-Udabā' [3rd ed. Beirut 1980] IV 133; but is absent from F.Nadīm & R.Najāshī. Ibn Shahrāshūb and Yāqūt appear to rely on Abū

Ja'far al-Ṭūsī in their listing of Maḥāsin's contents. Both al-Najāshī and al-Ṭūsī rely on the Fihrist of another pupil of Aḥmad al-Barqī, the leading Qummī-Baghdadi scholar, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ja'far Ibn Baṭṭah *al-Mu'addib;* whose Fihrist was said to be riddled with errors (*kāna kathīra l-adab wa l-faḍl wa l-'ilm, yatasāhalu fī l-ḥadīth wa yu'alliqu l-asānida bi-l-ijāzāt, wa fī* Fihrist *mā rawāhu ghalaṭ kathīr;* R.Najāshī II 282 #1020). Ibn al-Nadīm's much briefer listing is taken from one who transmitted the Maḥāsin from al-Barqī, Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. Hammām al-Kātib al-Iskāfī (for whom see R.Najāshī II 295-7 #1033; T.Baghdād III 365).

113. For him see W. Madelung, E.I.[2] V 362b-3b.

114. This is an educated guess, based also on titles of other lost works of Aḥmad al-Barqī (cf. R.Najāshī & F.Ṭūsī): *Kitāb al-Fahm, K. Jadāwil al-Ḥikmah* [The Tables of Wisdom], *K. al-Amthāl, K. Makārim al-Akhlāq, K. al-Zuhd wa l-Mawā'iẓ, K. Adab al-Nafs, K. Khalq al-Samawāti wa l-Arḍ, K. Mā Khāṭaba llāhu bi-hi Khalqahu, & K. al-Mawāhib wa l-Ḥuẓūẓ* [Yāqūt, Mu'jam IV 134]. Clearly al-Barqī's interests were ecumenical, if not eclectic; could reliance on non-Imāmī *riwāyāt* have contributed to the loss of the bulk of Maḥāsin? Ibn Shu'bah al-Ḥarrānī included a number of reports in his Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl drawn either from al-Barqī's lost K. al-'Aql or derived from the compilations by Sulaymān b. 'Īsā & Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar; similarly with al-Karājakī, Kanz al-Fawā'id, and al-Ṭūsī, Amālī.

115. A Qummī scholar of an old Shī'ī Kufan family; F.Nadīm 276; R.Najāshī II 220-1 #899 (*ḍa'īfan fī l-ḥadīth wa kāna adīban ḥusna l-ma'rifah bi-l-akhbār wa 'ulūm al-'arab*); R.Ṭūsī 386 #4 & 404 #1; F.Ṭūsī 148 #628; Tanqīḥ III 113-4 #10659. Associate of imams al-Riḍā (d.203/818) and al-Jawād

(d.220/835), he had theological interests (eg. his book Fī ʿIlm al-Bāri'; R.Najāshī II 221) and was a pupil of Muḥammad Ibn Abī ʿUmayr (d.217/832) & Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr al-Bazanṭī (d.221/836); see R.Kishshī #s 290, 374, & 1034. The latter two were pupils of the Imāmī theologian Hishām b. Sālim al-Jawālīqī (below n.138).

116. See Ch. Pellat, E.I.[2] S 127a-8a; & E. Kohlberg, Ibn Ṭāwūs 273 #411, & 308-9 #491 (on the Kitāb al-Mubtada' or Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā' of Abū ʿAbdAllāh Muḥammad al-Barqī).

117. Probably the companion of the tenth imam al-Hādī, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Ashʿarī al-Qummī; R.Ṭūsī 422 #12; F.Ṭūsī 155 #692?; Tanqīh III 158 #11123. Not the extremist/*ghālī* Abū Sumayyah Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṣayrafī al-Kūfī, a companion of imam al-Riḍā who was condemned by the Qummī scholars.

118. Abū ʿAlī Wuhayb b. Ḥafṣ al-Jarīrī, *mawlā* of Banū Asad, a (Kufan?) companion of al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim who authored reliable works yet was a *Wāqifī*; R.Najāshī II 393 #1160; R.Ṭūsī 328 #27; F.Ṭūsī 173 #758; Tanqīh III 282 #1273; & cf.? Jarḥ IX 27 #119 (Wahb b. Ismāʿīl al-Asadī).

119. Abū Baṣīr Layth b. al-Bakhtarī al-Murādī, a famous blind companion of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq with theological interests; R.Najāshī II 193 #874; F.Ṭūsī 130 #574; R.Kishshī 169-74 #s 285-298, & index *s.v.*; Theologie I 331-2. However, the *kunyā* "Abū Baṣīr" may also refer to several other blind persons, eg. Yaḥyā b. al-Qāsim al-Asadī; cf. Tanqīh III 308-11 #12975.

120. Contrast this with the characterization of *ʿilm &*

adab by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, ʿIqd al-Farīd II 27: "*innahumā l-quṭbāni lladhāni ʿalayhimā madāru l-dīn wa l-dunyā wa farqun mā bayna l-insāni wa sā'iri l-ḥayawān...,* wa *humā māddatu l-ʿaqli wa sirāju l-badani wa nūru l-qalbi wa ʿimādu l-rūḥ.*" Al-Kulaynī's formulation is more in harmony with the intent enunciated by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (above n.68). The issue here involves what was termed "ʿ*aql dīnī* faith mind" by al-Muḥāsibī (or by Aḥmad b. ʿĀṣim al-Anṭākī?) in the Kitāb al-Khalwah; see al-Mashriq XLIX/1955/on 45 .

121. His name is Abū Bishr Abān b. Muḥammad al-Bajalī, identical with the Abān b. Muḥammad al-Bajalī, dubbed "Sindī al-Bazzāz". An associate of the tenth imam al-Hādī, a leading Kufan scholar & nephew of Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā, he authored a Kitāb al-Nawādir; R.Najāshī I 82-3 #10 & II 421 #495; R.Ṭūsī 416 #6; F.Ṭūsī 81 #331; Tanqīh I 8-9 #33. Is he also identical with the Kufan-Baghdadi al-Sindī b. Rabīʿ b. Muḥammad (R.Najāshī II 421 #494; R.Ṭūsī 378 #8, 431 #1, 476 #11; F.Ṭūsī 81 #s 331 & 333; Tanqīh IIa 71 #5331), an informant for al-Ṣaffār?

122. Al-ʿAlā' b. Razīn al-Qallā', a Kufan *mawlā* of Thaqīf and companion of al-Ṣādiq. Deemed trustworthy, he transmitted from al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿUmar al-Juʿfī, was a pupil-colleague of Muḥammad b. Muslim (al-Najāshī: *ṣaḥiba Muḥammad b. Muslim wa faqiha ʿalayhi*), and an informant for al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb al-Sarrād (who transmitted his books) & for Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (eg. R.Kishshī #s 211, 214, & 552). See R.Najāshī II 153-4 #809; R.Ṭūsī 245 #355; F.Ṭūsī 112-3 #488 (four lines-of-transmission of his writings); Tanqīh IIa 256-7 #8037.

123. Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Awqaṣ al-Ṭaḥḥān al-Ṭā'ifī, a Kufan *mawlā* of Thaqīf. A disciple of al-Bāqir

& companion of al-Ṣādiq, he was a learned *faqīh* with theological interests who had controversies with the followers of *ahl al-ra'y* in Kufah. As a member of the circle around the Shī'ī theologian Zurārah b. A'yan, he upheld the latter's teaching on *istiṭā'ah* 'human capacity'. His work "Four Hundred Questions (on *fiqh*)" was relayed via al-Sindī b. Muḥammad } al-'Alā' b. Razīn } Muḥammad b. Muslim. See R.Najāshī II 199-200 #883; R.Ṭūsī 135 #1, 300 #317, 358 #1; R.Kishshī 161-9 #s 272-84; Tanqīh III 184-6 #11371; & Theologie I 330. Van Ess is perhaps correct in not identifying him with the (Meccan? or Kufan) quasi-Qadarī Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Suways\Susan [Sunsun?] al-Ṭā'ifī; Jarḥ VIII 77 #322, Tahdhīb IX 444-5 #729.

124. Per W. Madelung, E.Ir. III 725a-726b for his death date; yet Twelver authorities most often give the year 115.

125. This type of *isnād* is not uncommon in Twelver *riwāyah*, the attribution usually being to one of *al-Bāqirayn* or *al-Ṣādiqayn*, reflecting reports with a similar or identical content relayed from father or son, al-Bāqir and\or al-Ṣādiq.

126. Probably the Qummī scholar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Farrūkh al-Ṣaffār (d.290/902-3), author of the precious early collection of reports dealing with the *'ilm* of the Imām, Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt [Tabriz 1960]. See the information on him collected by M. A. Amir-Moezzi in Journal Asiatique CCLXXX/1992/221-50. Note that this report does not occur in the printed edition of Baṣā'ir, curiously bare of *'aql* reports.

127. Of Qumm then Rayy, a controversial associate of the 9th, 10th, & 11th imams. Around 255/869 he was expelled

from Qumm by the leading Twelver scholar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Ashʿarī (see report #9 above), on account of accusations of *ghuluww* 'extremism'. Sahl was an informant for al-Barqī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār, and al-Kulaynī, three of the most important 3rd century Imāmī compilers. See R.Ṭūsī 401 #1, 416 #4, 431 #2; F.Ṭūsī 80 #329; R.Najāshī I 417-8 #488; R.Kishshī 566 #s 1068 & 1069; Tanqīḥ IIa 75-6 #5396.

128. The Kufan Abū l-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAmr [= Abū Najrān] b. Muslim al-Tamīmī, an associate of the 8th & 9th imams. Deemed highly reliable, he authored numerous works dealing with *fiqh*, and a Nawādir. See R.Najāshī II 45-6 #620; R.Ṭūsī 380 #9, 403 #7; F.Ṭūsī 109 #464; Tanqīḥ IIa 139 #6339; & ? Jarḥ V 267 #1258.

129. R.Kishshi 167 #280, + 162 #273, where al-Ṣādiq is reported saying of Ibn Muslim: "*annahu qad samiʿa min abī wa kāna ʿindahu wajīhan*"; further Theologie I 330 n.82.

130. This is the Kitāb al-Burhān fī Wujūh al-Bayān by Ibrāhīm b. Wahb al-Kātib.

131. Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb al-Sarrād, a Kufan *mawlā* of Bajīlah and associate of imams al-Kāẓim & al-Riḍā; F.Nadīm 275 & 276; R.Kishshī index s.v.; R.Ṭūsī 347 #9, 372 #11; F.Ṭūsī 46-7 #151; Tanqīḥ I 304-5 #2710. A highly trustworthy scholar of law, he is said to have related from sixty companions of al-Ṣādiq, and written numerous works, including a Kitāb al-Nawādir.

Not to be confused with the slightly later Basran al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad (dubbed 'Maḥbūb') b. al-Ḥasan al-Qurashī; Jarḥ III 38 #164, & see Tahdhīb IX 119-20 #164.

132. The text of Naqd al-Nathr, in quoting this report anonymously, varies the phrasing of the 'setting': "*inna llāha ʿAzza wa Jalla lammā khalaqa l-khalqa, thumma l-ʿaqlu baʿdahum, istanṭaqahu...*". This is clearly a making explicit of the fact that reports of the "*lammā khalaqa llāhu l-ʿaqla*"-type were not to be understood as depicting *ʿaql* as first creation, and exhibits a sensitivity to the (later) controversy over the "*awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-ʿaqlu*" form. Immediately following this quote, pseudo-Qudāmah invokes two statements by the imams about *ʿaql* as the *ḥujjah*; cf. Uṣūl I 25 #22 [al-Ṣādiq], & I 16 > Tuḥaf 285 [al-Kāẓim to Hishām].

133. Or: 'he examined*tested him'. This unique element makes explicit the 'testing' intended by the *iqbāl & idbār* of *ʿaql*. The same term occurs in the tale of Caliph Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah's infatuation with the singing girl ʿUmārah, where Yazīd tests the sagacity & oratory of his Iraqi interlocuter (described as *ʿāqil*) he has selected to aid him in a ruse to win ʿUmārah from her ʿAlid owner: "*fa-lammā dakhala ʿalayhi istanṭaqahu fa-ra'ā bayānan wa ḥalāwatan wa fiqhin [=ʿaql]...*"; Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, Al-Maḥāsin wa l-Masāwi', ed. M. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm [Cairo 1961] I 224. And Caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik tests someone by questioning: "*arāda an yakhtabirahu li-yanẓura a-ʿaqluhu ʿalā qadri kalāmihi am lā...*"; ʿIqd al-Farīd II 241; & ʿAql 51-2 #58: "*...arāda Sulaymānu an yaʿrifa ʿaqlahu*".

134. Ibn Bābawayh's Amālī agrees with Maḥāsin, yet some Mss. of Maḥāsin read the energetic *lā ukmilannaka*. Both Uṣūl and Naqd have the perfect *akmaltuka*, "I have only perfected you in those whom I wish (to do so)".

135. Naqd concludes by adding: "*wa bi-ka ākhudhu wa bi-*

ka u'ṭī". Does this reflect an alternative form of this *riwāyah*?

136. Eg. the report from imam Mūsā al-Kāẓim in Maḥāsin, *kitāb maṣābīḥ al-ẓulam, bāb al-'aql*, 193 #9: "...David did not appoint Solomon as his successor until he tested his *'aql/ḥattā ikhtabara 'aqlahu...*". See the versions by Wahb on Ibn 'Abbās, and by Ka'b al-Aḥbār, found in Ibn Wathīmah al-Fārisī, Bad' al-Khalq, ed. R.G. Khoury [Wiesbaden 1978] 127f.; & partly paralleled by Sa'īd b. Jubayr, in al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab III 235, & al-Kutubī, Ghurar al-Khaṣā'iṣ 85-6. Further, the prophetic *ḥadīth* concerning the light sprinkled upon Adam's progeny in the *Yawm al-Mīthāq* cited by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Adab al-Nafs, ed. al-Sā'iḥ [Cairo 1993] 93-4: "*inna llāha khalaqa l-khalqa fī ẓulmatin thumma rashsha 'alayhim min nūrihi..., thumma akhrajahum yawma l-mīthāq bīḍan wa sūdan thumma istanṭaqahum yawma'idh...*".

137. 'Alī b. al-Ḥakam b. al-Zubayr al-Nakha'ī, of Kufa (and\or from al-Anbār), and companion of the 8th imam al-Riḍā and\or al-Jawād. Deemed reliable, he authored a book relayed via Abū Ja'far Aḥmad al-Barqī and Muḥammad b. al-Sindī. See R.Najāshī II 109 #716; R.Ṭūsī 382 #30, 403 #12; F.Ṭūsī 87 #366; Tanqīḥ IIa 285-6 #s 8250-8254. He was the pupil of the Imāmī theologian Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad Ibn Abī 'Umayr al-Azdī (d.217/832; R.Kishshī 570 #1079, & see Theologie I 384-6).

138. Probably the Kufan Imāmī theologian Abū Muḥammad Hishām b. Sālim al-Jawālīqī; R.Najāshī II 399 #1166; F.Ṭūsī 174 #760 ('Alī b. al-Ḥakam transmitted the *aṣl*-book of al-Jawālīqī); W. Madelung, "The Shiite and Kharijite Contribution to Pre-Ash'arite *Kalām*", Islamic Philosophical Theol-

ogy, ed. P. Morewedge [Albany 1979] 120-39, on 129 n.9, 131 n.26, 134 n.43; & Theloqie I 342-8. This important follower of al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim was a rival of another key disciple of both imams, Hishām b. al-Ḥakam.

Note that Ibn Abī ʻUmayr belonged to the school of al-Jawālīqī; given that Hishām b. al-Ḥakam was also a teacher of Ibn Abī ʻUmayr (see F.Ṭūsī 174-5 #761), the possibility that "Hishām" in this *isnād* = Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, cannot be discounted (see R.Kishshī 415 #785; & Madelung, art. cit. 134 n.43).

139. This final phrase may be contrasted with other versions given above: *la-ka al-thawāb; bi-ka uthību; iyyāka uthību*. Perhaps *ʻalayka* may be construed as: "Upon thee do I requite", with the *thawāb* taken in the absolute sense of compensation for both good and evil; yet most often *thawāb* denotes requital of obedience to God.

140. He authored a Kitāb al-Nawādir, which Abū Jaʻfar Aḥmad al-Barqī transmitted; R.Najāshī II 235 #926 (*"qarību l-amr"*); F.Ṭūsī 153 #676; Tanqīh III 112-3 #10657. Not Abū ʻAbdAllāh Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Barqī, the father of the compiler of Maḥāsin, invariably referred to by: *ʻan abīhi*.

141. Abū Muḥammad ʻAbdAllāh b. al-Faḍl b. ʻAbdAllāh b. al-Ḥārith [= "Babbah"] al-Nawfalī al-Hāshimī, who was a descendant of Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʻAbd al-Muṭṭalib (for Babbah: Tahdhīb V 180-1 #310). A Qurashī Arab known to have relayed many interesting reports from al-Ṣādiq; his book was transmitted from him by Ibn Abī ʻUmayr; R.Najāshī II 25 #583; Muḥammad b. ʻAlī al-Ardabīlī, Jāmiʻ al-Ruwāt [Qumm 1331] I 499; Tanqīh IIa 202 #7004. But see the next note.

142. Twelver bio-bibliographical sources make no mention

of "al-Faḍl b. ʿAbdAllāh al-Hāshimī al-Nawfalī"; this *isnād* might have been 'inverted' in some way in Maḥāsin's text and "*abīhi*" lost its true place, but Biḥār I 97 #6 has the same.

Possibly the *isnād* should be: ...al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl (b. Yaʿqūb b. Saʿīd b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib) al-Hāshimī al-Nawfalī } his father } al-Ṣādiq; see eg. Maḥāsin, ***kitāb al-ṣafwah wa l-nūr***, 152 #75. For this associate of imam al-Riḍā, al-Ḥasan\Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Nawfalī, see R.Najāshī I 159-60 #111, or 169 #130; Tanqīḥ I 309 #2745, & 343 #3053 (quoting from a Mss. of R.Najāshī differing considerably from the several published versions: ***rawā ʿan nuskhati abīhi ʿan Abī ʿAbdAllāh..., la-hu kitābun kabīr***); and said to have authored the account of al-Riḍā's debates with leaders of other religious confessions (***majālis al-Riḍā maʿa ahli l-adyān***). Further on this family of *akhbārīs*, see Ch. Pellat, "al-Nawfalī", E.I.² VII 1045a-6a.

143. Such a notion may have first been broached by the Kufan *mawlā* and *faqīh* Saʿīd b. Jubayr (executed 95/714 by al-Ḥajjāj), a leading pupil of Ibn ʿAbbās and an associate of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn *Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn*. See the report in Ibn Wathīmah al-Fārisī, Bad' al-Khalq 128:

> "It has reached me that *al-ʿaql* was divided into a thousand parts/*anna l-ʿaqla qusima ʿalā alfi juz'in*. Muḥammad *Ṣ* was granted 999 parts, and his community was given only one part. Likewise the prophets before him, save that whch God excelled Muḥammad *Ṣ* with. For God elected the prophets on account of their *ʿaql*. ..."

The fact that Saʿīd retells an earlier piece ("*balaghanī*") points to the currency of this notion within certain circles in early Islam. This motif of the prophets being the 'weightiest' in understanding (most wise of their contemporaries), with its conception of the materiality of *ʿaql*

having a definite mass or measure, was developed in some detail in terms of "grains of sand" (cf. 1 Kings 4:29) representing the infinite gradations of the created measures of *'aql*; see eg. Wahb's statement in Ḥilyat IV 26-7 (*via* Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar).
The proper context against which to view this notion is the possibility of extraordinary endowment with the divine gift of wisdom given to special men found in Biblicist Wisdom writings of the Hellenistic era. Rabbinic Wisdom taught that Moses was the greatest of sages having received forty-nine of the fifty created measures of Wisdom*Understanding (*bīnāh*), except that of Divine Wisdom itself (the midrashic notion in Babylonian Talmud, Rosh ha-Shanah 21b); see eg. L. Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews III 141, IV 130. More to the point is B.Qid.,49b: "Ten *kab* (measures) of wisdom came down into the world; the land of Israel received nine, and the rest of the nations were given one"; trans. U. Wilckens, "*Sophia*", in G. Kittel, ed., Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, trans. Bromily, VII 506-28, on 507.

144. The identical *isnād* occurs nearby in Maḥāsin 193 #11 (on the *ulū l-albāb*). Given that al-Kulaynī (Uṣūl I 11 #5, & 27-8 #32) reports two versions of very similar reports on an *isnād* through Abū Ghālib al-Ḥasan b. al-Jahm b. Bukayr b. Aʿyan al-Zurārī } imam Abū l-Ḥasan al-Riḍā; then al-Barqī's report #13, with its almost nonexistent *isnād*, may be taken as a *qawl* of the eighth imam al-Riḍā or possibly of his father Mūsā al-Kāẓim. →

For al-Hasan b. Jahm, who compiled a work of *masā'il* on his master al-Riḍā, see: R.Najāshī I 158 #108; F.Ṭūsī 47 #152; R.Ṭūsī 347 #10 (associate of al-Kāẓim), 373 #28 ("al-Rāzī" = al-Zurārī); Tanqīh I 271 #2496. For the family of Aʿyan b. Sunsun, descendants of a Greek monk from Aleppo, and its role in Imāmī intellectual life, see: F.Nadīm 276, & Theologie I 322-3.

145. *Mā yuʿba'u min ahli hādhā l-dīn bi-man lā ʿaqla la-hu*. Cf. Uṣūl I 27 #32; & Q *al-Furqān* 25:77. Al-Majlisī defuses the implications of this statement by recourse to the theological notion of *taklīf*: *alladhīna ghayra kāmilīna fī l-ʿaql, wa in ḥurimu ʿan faḍā'il ahli l-ʿaql lākin takālīfuhum ayḍan ashalu wa akhaffu, wa aktharu l-mukhāṭabāti fī l-takālīfi l-shāqqati l-ulī l-albāb*; Biḥār I 92.

146. "*Mimman yaṣifu hādhā l-amr*"; the 'affair' denoting Shīʿī partisanship and following the Imām's religious authority. Compare Uṣūl I 11 #5: "*ʿindanā qawman la-hum maḥabbatun wa laysat la-hum tilka l-ʿazīmah yaqūlūna bi-hādhā l-qawl?*"

147. The report in Uṣūl I 11 #5 has: "*fa-iʿtabirū yā ulī l-abṣār*". Recall that Aḥmad al-Barqī included in his Maḥāsin a work entitled K. Mā khāṭaba llāhu bi-hi khalqahu (above n.114).

148. Eg. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (ʿIqd al-Farīd II 249): *min jalālati qadri l-ʿaql anna llāha lam yukhāṭib illā dhawī l-ʿuqūl*; or pseudo-Qudāmah, Naqd 3. See the development of this notion in al-Muḥāsibī, Fahm al-Qur'ān 266f. A separate study of the development of the notion of *ḥujjah* in the early period would throw much light on these theological and

spiritual ideas in relation to *ʿaql*.

149. See H. Landolt, 'Walāyah", Encyclopedia of Religion, ed. M. Eliade, XV 319-21.

Chapter 2

SALIENT MOTIFS

§I. "WHEN GOD CREATED *'AQL* "

This chapter first examines the major themes embedded in the *Aqbil!* report(s), and then reviews a rival body of early tradition which placed 'the Pen' (*al-qalam*) at the beginning of creation.

§I A. The 'SETTING'.

The most invariable detail in all the above versions is the near total unanimity in the wording: "When God had created *al-'aql*" (*lammā*, 'having created', 'at the time that God created'). Clearly the temporal clause *lammā khalaqa* should not be understood as specifying a first, primordial, or 'pre-creation' cosmogonic divine creation. Rather it depicts the divine gift of the human faculty of 'intelligence*understanding' or innate wisdom. We use the word 'faculty' loosely, signifying a trait of the human constitution endowed with ethico-religious dimensions which is gifted by God (*mawhūb*); perhaps this is covered by the term *shay'* occurring in some of the reports.[1] This fact needs to be stressed in light of Goldziher's influential supposition that the form "*lammā khalaqa*" was a later deformation or mitigation of the original "*awwalu mā khalaqa*" form. While

other second century reports employing this clause make clear that "*lammā khalaqa llāhu*" was met with in popular moralizing traditions,[2] the phrasing of some was perhaps modeled on the 'setting' of the *Aqbil!* report itself.

§I B. The 'TESTING'.

The second unanimous feature is God's making trial of *ʿaql* by commanding him to advance and retreat, or face forward and back. The motif of testing one's comprehension was seen to be indigenous to early Muslims (ch.1 n.133). The imagery of turning forward and back is rooted in the old Arab and early Arab-Muslim lexical pairing of *iqbāl & idbār*, *muqbil & mudbir*, a widespread 'Janus' conception.[3] This conceptual pair was connected with increasing vs. declining fortune: " *iqbāl al-dunyā* the being fortunat "; & "*dabara baʿda iqbālin* his fortune became evil after having been good" [Lexicon *d.b.r.*].[4] Recall that in the old Arab and early Muslim view, good fortune (*ḥaẓẓ & jadd*) in one's livelihood (*rizq*) was aligned with stupidity (*ḥumq*), the opposite with *ʿaql*.[5] This notion may lie behind the (possibly primitive?) predestinarian form of the 'testing' in this *Aqbil!* report. A first century *qawl* attributed to leading personalities seems to echo old Arab usage :[6]

> "I am more inclined to grant the request of the intelligent man who turns away (in disdain)/*al-ʿāqil al-mudbir*, than the fool who thrusts his face for-

ward/*al-aḥmaq al-muqbil* (seeking satisfaction of his need)."

The Qur'ān contrasts the positive human response to divine command or prohibition against the wilful disregarding or scornful 'turning away' from divine guidance; see eg. Q 8:23 "...*wa law asmaʿahum la-tawallaw wa hum muʿriḍūna* And if He makes them hear, they will turn away in aversion".[7] Another conceptual pair of Qur'ānic terms is clearly relevant, namely *qaddama & akhkhara* (eg. Q 75:13 & 48:2 > per sins of omission and commission). *Al-Muddaththir* 74:37-8 gives a warning: "to him among you who wishes to advance/*an yataqaddama* (in virtue) or hang back/*yata'akhkhara*. Every soul is pledged for what it has earned."[8] God puts man to trial, with reward and punishment necessarily deserved by acts or by omissions which are within man's capability.[9] God's 'testing' of *ʿaql* enters into this dynamic. The motif met with in tales about the 'Succession of Solomon' (ch.1 n.136), where the *ʿāqil* is tested to determine how abundant is his endowment of understanding clearly plays a part here.

A complementary theme from the first century on was the spurning of this world (*al-dunyā*) and its capricious bestowal of fortune, and concentrating upon the Hereafter (*al-ākhirah*). Al-Ṣādiq invokes Luqmān's admonition to his son wherein improper *iqbāl & idbār* vitiate *ʿaql* 'reason' :[10]

> Since I came into this world, I turned away (from it) and turned to face the Hereafter. My dear boy, do not

> pursue the affair [of worldly fortune] when it declines (*mudbiran*)[11], and do not relinquish [worldly fortune] when it presents itself (*muqbilan*). For that makes the *ra'y* 'sound-sense*judgement' to err, and makes *al-ʿaql* contemptible.

Luqmān's meaning should be construed as counselling indifference to the ups-and-downs of material circumstances, over which one has no control.

All religious matters are said to possess both an *iqbāl* and an *idbār*,[12] an ebb and a flow. An interesting *qawl* assigned to the second Caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb links the three faculties of *dhihn* 'mental-acuity', *ʿaql* 'intelligent-comprehension', and *ḥifẓ* 'retentiveness-of-mind', with the heart.[13] ʿUmar asked a group of his associates :

> "What do you say concerning the man whom at times his *dhihn* is not present with him/*lā yaḥḍuruhu*, nor his *ʿaql* nor his *ḥifẓ*; and at times his *dhihn* and *ʿaql* are present with him? ... [They confess ignorance.]
>
> The heart has a 'darkening-cover' like the clouds obscuring (the light of) the moon/*inna li-l-qalbi ṭakhā'an ka-ṭakhā'i l-qamar*. So when that (covering) envelopes the heart/*ghashiya dhālika l-qalba*, then his *ʿaql* and *ḥifẓ* depart from him/*dhahaba min-hu*. And when it [the 'darkening-cover'] is dispelled from his heart, his *dhihn*, *ʿaql*, and *ḥifẓ* are brought (back) to him."

ʿUmar's nexus of *dhihn*, *ʿaql*, and *ḥifẓ* suggests the overlapping qualities of mental-acuity, of intelligence, and of 'attention*consciousness', being located in the heart as the

seat of awareness likened to the light of the moon. The heart (*qalb*), as the main anthropological term for the inner totality of perception, has an organic ebb and flow. This saying involves the widespread notion of *dhahāb al-ʻaql* 'loss of reason' (cf. *ghushiya ʻalayhi* 'lose consciousness, faint'), and explains the cause of episodic intervals of inattention or mental vacuity in human awareness.

This theme of contrasting 'times' of intensity for the functioning of human faculties receives a differing emphasis in several reports attributed to ʻAlī and to Ibn Masʻūd specifying that man's heart is 'two-faced', characterized by periods of eager-longing and susceptibility to good works, countered by periods of feeble laxity and aversion when it must not be overly tasked.[14] This notion appears to parallel the Zoroastrian teaching concerning the timely governing of two types of virtue through innate wisdom (*xrad*), the two modes of action being 'forward-inclined' and 'backward-inclined' (*frāz-āhangīg & abāz-āhangīg*), with human virtues and vices falling into both of these two categories in a double binary system.[15]

These several dove-tailing motifs provide an indigenous context in which to comprehend the *iqbāl & idbār* of *ʻaql*. At a certain level the 'testing' demonstrates *ʻaql*'s obedience/*ṭāʻah* to the divine injunction, his readiness to heed the divine address by performing obligatory deeds &

refraining from prohibited things. *ʿAql* is 'two-faced' in an even more fundamental way, when it comes to comprehension of meaning. God's 'testing' of *ʿaql* essentially consists in His addressing him directly (*khāṭabahu*), and *ʿaql*'s hearing-and-obeying the divine address. This basic feature expands upon the Qur'ānic givens (*samʿ, fahm, ulū l-albāb, "yaʿqilūna"*; + see ch.1 report #14). His *iqbāl* is the proper response to the demand to pay attention & understand: 'Listen!'. His *idbār* is the turning a deaf ear to all temptations which deflect his reception of guidance, warning, or reproach. For the Qadarī reading of our report, the *idbār* of *al-ʿaql* is a metaphor for disobeying Iblīs (*maʿṣiyat Iblīs*). The *idbār* may also be viewed as stopping short at limits imposed by God or inherent in *ʿaql*'s nature, a theme favored by later Ṣūfīs, playing on the etymological derivation of *ʿaql* from the camel's binding cord (*al-ʿiqāl*).[16]

Thus the *iqbāl & idbār* of *ʿaql* represent a considerable refinement of the ancient wisdom motif of the wise man's turning toward, and the fool's turning away, from counsel or admonition.[17] This motif is basic to the sapiential address formula (*ismaʿ qawlī wa iʿqil ʿannī!; iḥfaẓū wa ʿū!*) where hearing-and-obeying (ie. acting on what one hears) comprise the twin facets of understanding and comprehension (French '*entendement*').[18] The process or event of understanding in the hearer's consciousness was indicated by *ʿaqala ʿan\min*,

and involves the equivalence of *fahm* and *ʿaql* in relation to *samʿ* and *qalb*. This fundamental significance of the role of *ʿaql* is clearly evident in a unique form of the *lammā khalaqa* report :[19]

> #15) God Mighty and Majestic, when He had created *al-ʿaql* 'intelligence', He said, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then He said, "By My Power and My Glory! I did not create a creature dearer to Me than thee, and I shall certainly not put thee save in the most beloved of creatures to Me." And when He had created *al-ḥumq* 'stupidity', He said to him, "Come forward!" so he retreated. Then He said to him, "Go back!" so he drew near. Then he said, "By My Power and My Glory! I did not create a creature more hateful to Me than thee, and I shall certainly not put thee save in the most detested of creatures to Me."

The predestinarian intent is clear: *ʿaql* leads to fortunate happiness, wise and prudent conduct of life, and salvation; *ḥumq* ends in misfortune, ignorance, and damnation. Stupidity is the inverse or mirror opposite of *ʿaql* 'intelligence*wisdom' since it refuses to listen and perversely fails to comprehend God's address. The archaic tone of this piece is more in tune with old-Arab notions (*ʿaql* \ *ḥumq*) than the voluntarist versions examined above. For those who must seek an original *Ur*-text, this is a good candidate (the ancient paradigm of wisdom vs. folly, or *ʿaql* vs. *nafs & hawā*).

Beyond this fundamental sense, *ʿaql*'s 'two-faced' nature points to his withdrawal from immersion in wordly gratifaction and vice and a corresponding dedication to virtue and otherworldly verities (*zuhd*). His heedful compliance to the divine address supplies the pretext for the divine approbation heaped on *ʿaql* in the encomium. This kind of obedience*hearing, of paying attention & heeding,[20] is what constitues true 'intelligence' or wisdom, itself made possible through God's provision. Ultimately the *iqbāl & idbār* of *ʿaql* represents an Islamic valorization of the sapiential address formula, extended into a narrative creation tale loaded with theological weight. The 'testing' was elaborated to vehicule the particular concerns of the circles adapting the report (eg. ch.1 reports #7 & #8.a).

§I C. The 'ENCOMIUM'.

Some variation is found in the praise God awards to *ʿaql*. It falls into two parts, God's oath (lacking in #s 1, 3, 6, 7, & 13); and God's praise of *ʿaql* as the most cherished thing to Him. The oath most often consists in God's vowing by His Power or Might (*wa ʿizzatī*), or His Power and Glory. This emphasis on the divine potency and majesty highlights the special status of *ʿaql* among created things (cf. *faḍl al-ʿaql* the surpassing merit of *ʿaql*). While two reports lacking the oath (#1 & #3) may be open to predestinarian interpretation, it is likely that the heart

of the issue was the motif of *tafḍīl* — the inequities or innate variations in human endowment of moral understanding.

God's praise expresses the cherished (*aḥabba ilayya*), even distinguishing (#5 *a'jaba*, #6 & #7 *akrama*), esteem He has for *'aql*, whom He created nothing better than (*aḥsana min*). The phrase "*mā khalaqtu khalqan...* I did not create a creature" (or "I created no creature"), effects a personification of *'aql* as one of God's *khalq* 'created beings'. Normally '*khalq*' is taken as equivalent to 'mankind, human',[21] though other beings are so referred (angels, the *jinn*).[22] The personification of *'aql* was not unusual in early Muslim thought, as the almost poetic saying of an anonymous bedouin implies :[23]

> If *al-'aql* were to be 'fashioned (in human form)' (*law ṣuwwira l-'aqlu*), then the sun would be made dark next to him; and if *al-ḥumq* were to be so 'fashioned', then the night would shine brightly next to him.

Early *ḥadīth* contain several charming tales featuring the semi-personified *'aql*, such as the ancient wisdom tale about Gabriel offering Adam a choice of *'aql* over the traits of *ḥayā'* 'organic-shame' (or *ḥusn al-khuluq* 'goodliness of innate disposition') and *dīn* 'faith*obedience'.[24]

Significantly, early Islamic sayings make an explicit personification of *ḥusn al-khuluq*.[25] Often a person's *khalq* 'physical form' and their *khuluq* 'innate constitution' are

compared.[26] Al-Ṭabarānī quoted a 'prophetic' saying via the Companion ʿAmmār b. Yāsir: "*ḥusnu l-khuluq* is the greatest created-being of God".[27] Given the extremely widespread and important nexus of *ʿaql* and the *akhlāq* (a topic deserving of separate detailed treatment), it is justified to construe the meaning of *khalq* in the *Aqbil!* reports as revolving primarily around its nature as chief among the created traits of human endowment. The term *khalq* thus depicts *ʿaql* as the most essential or chief distinguishing glory of humans as a gift from God upon which one's salvation hinges. The occurrence of *shay'* 'thing' in several versions supports this (ch.1 #2, #9, #14). That *ʿaql* is depicted as created/*makhlūq*, and one among other created traits is never in doubt.[28] Yet this was no obstacle to viewing *ʿaql* as much more than a mere trait of human nature, and placing it in the supernal realm of God's Throne, ie. *ʿaql* as Heavenly Wisdom, prototype\counterpart to the human inborn trait.

SI D. The 'LISTING'.

Here we meet with the widest range of variability among the report(s). Often the meaning is clouded by textual variants which may profoundly alter the sense, even by a single letter, and the possibility of *taḥrīf & taṣḥīf* is constantly present. Although we are attempting to trace trajectories of meaning focused on a single term, for reasons of economy we cannot explore the significance of the

differing versions beyond the brief comments following each report.[29] Clearly these differences reveal the continuing evolution and enrichment of meaning contributed by the circles handling the report. It is most evident in the variety of phrasings dealing with reward and punishment: #4 *bi-ka u'āqibu*; #3 *bi-ka uthību wa bi-ka u'āqibu*; ## 5-9 *la-ka l-thawāb wa 'alayka l-'iqāb*; #10 & #11 *iyyāka uthību wa iyyāka u'āqibu*; #12 *'alayka uthību*.

Most notable among these enrichments were the moderate Qadarī circles in Basrah stemming from the disciples of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (Mālik b. Dīnār, al-Faḍl al-Raqāshī, al-Ḥasan b. Dīnār, Ṣāliḥ al-Murrī); and the Kufan Shī'ī appropriation clustered around the figures of the imams al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Muḥammad b. Muslim, Abū Baṣīr, Hishām al-Jawālīqī). In Part II we shall see that the Shī'ī development of this report in some ways went well beyond the Basran-Baghdadi stream, involving an expansion of the 'setting' intended to combat Dualistic teachings, and a wealth of detail in the 'listing' based on the psycho-ethical role of the *akhlāq*, preparing the way for later Ṣūfī psychological *adab*.

SI E. SUMMARY :

Such intense creative enrichment among Iraqi schools pursuing increasingly independent paths throughout the second century, must not distract one from appreciating the roots of this report. The versions attributed to the

Medinan Kurayb (#2), to the Meccan Ibn Sābiṭ (#4), and that found in <u>'Iqd</u> (#15), are clearly predestinarian in intent. They present a problem in judging whether the report started out by reflecting predestinarian notions about *'aql*, particularly in light of the currency among the old Arabs & early Arab Muslims of the notion that *'aql* was part of the predestined allotment varying in measure with every individual. This possibility cannot be easily dismissed. The fact that early in the second century this report was received and elaborated by both pro-Qadarī Sunnī and anti-Qadarī Shī'ī circles in Iraq (with both largely subscribing to the notion of *tafḍīl al-'aql*, innate dissimilarities in people's *'uqūl*) reveals that it had an earlier history, unrecoverable from our sources.

This report was in circulation during the last third of the first century, either in the Ḥijāz and\or in Syria and Iraq, as a saying by key Successors enunciating the notion of *faḍl al-'aql* 'the surpassing merit of intelligence', with its implications for *taklīf* 'moral responsibility'. It may possibly have been known earlier in some form as a wisdom narrative of predestinarian intent. Eventually it became 'raised' into a *qawl* of famous Companions. Probably at the same time this 'raising' took place, it began to be 'improved' so as to reflect the concerns and preoccupations of the Basran and Kufan and Damascene circles who embraced

it, since it was open to both Qadarī and predestinarian interpretations. Only during the course of the second century (ca. the 2nd third?) did it assume the guise of a Prophetic *ḥadīth*. One may cautiously assert that in some form, this report was part of the teaching of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and of Muḥammad al-Bāqir, both of whom flourished in the last third of the first century AH. If one accepts this assertion, one must also accept that the *Aqbil!* report is an expression of basic Islamic teachings.

§II. QALAM AND 'FIRST CREATION'

Despite the fact that the *Aqbil!* report says nothing about a first creation, during the era of its early unfolding Muslim thinkers evinced an interest in God's first created thing. Among the natural or celestial things named as a 'first creation' are mentioned: Water, Spirit,[30] God's Throne,[31] the Letters,[32] and *al-Qalam* 'the Pen' by which God inscribed His predestined decrees of Fate upon the Preserved Tablet (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*)[33] for the universe He planned to create. Second century Shīʿī thinkers also entertained the idea of Muḥammad and the Imāms as a type of primordial spiritual creation (*arwāḥ*), or 'pre-creation' light bodies (later *Nūr Muḥammad*).[34] We are not aware of any *ḥadīth* or *qawl* before the 3rd/9th century explicitly stating that al-*ʿaql* was God's first creation.

An indication of the differing notions current from an early period is reflected in the query put to al-Bāqir by an anonymous learned Syrian (*min ahli l-Shām min ʻulamā'ihim*) who asked him about "the first thing God created of His creation *ʻan awwali mā khalaqa llāhu min khalqihi*".[35] This Syrian referred to three prevailing views among Muslims on the first thing created: Spirit/*al-rūḥ*, Pen/*al-qalam*, and *al-qadar*.[36] Al-Bāqir responded by arguing for a creation ex nihilo, then asserting that God first created Water, from which everything else was created.[37] Similar creation schemes were popular in the first two centuries, especially among the *quṣṣāṣ*.[38] Since reports depicting the Pen as first creation came to be entwined with the *Aqbil!* report, they shall be treated first before following further developments of "*lammā khalaqa llāhu*" and its mutation into "*awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-ʻaqlu*".

SII A. THE 'PEN' *QALAM*, AGAINST AL-ʻ*AQL*

J. van Ess identified the main lines of transmission of "naive predestinarian sayings" about the Pen cast in the form of *ḥadīths*.[39] Taking their cue from Q 68:1 "By the inkstand and the Pen and by that which they write", a famous *qawl* was elaborated whose basic form asserts :[40]

> *Awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-qalamu*[41] The first thing God created is\was the Pen.[42] Then He said to it, "Write!" So (the Pen) wrote what came to pass and what will come to pass[43] until the Day of Resurrection.[44]

(However, the form of the "Ibn Jubayr } Ibn 'Abbās" report found in al-Ṭabarānī, Mu'jam al-Kabīr XII 54 #12500, reads: "*Lammā khalaqa llāhu l-qalama qāla la-hu...*".) As van Ess has shown (Zwischen 78-9), the chief witness to early forms of this *qalam* report as a *qawl* of Ibn 'Abbās came from Kufan predestinarian circles of the last decades of the first century, in touch with the Meccan school of pupils of Ibn 'Abbās (eg. Sa'īd b. Jubayr d.95/714, Mujāhid d.104/722, & al-Qāsim b. Abī Bazzah[45] d. ca.115/733).

It quickly became 'raised' into a prophetic *ḥadīth* at the hands of later Kufans such as Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-A'mash (d.148/765), as Gilliot suggests (Arabica XL 367-9). In its prophetic form it was employed as an effective device against Qadarī circles of the Ḥijāz, Syria, but especially those of Basrah during the first half of the second century. Thus, one version makes a telling point against proto-Mu'tazilī views concerning certain verses in the Qur'ān as they related to God's foreknowledge and justice :[46]

> The first thing God created is\was the Pen. Then He ordered it, so it wrote what came to pass. And among what was written, it wrote: "Perish the two hands of Abū Lahab" [Q 111:1].[47]

Whether the earliest versions of the *qalam* report enunciated the notion of 'first creation' is uncertain (cf. the "*lammā khalaqa*" form above). However, such a form of the *qalam*-

notion would clearly be easier to link with Qur'ānic vocabulary than the infinitive *ʿaql*. Yet its center of gravity appears at first to have revolved around asserting predestinarian views over and against Qadarī or merely voluntarist notions.

SII B. THE TWINS: FIRST *QALAM*, THEN *ʿAQL*

Around the late second or early third century AH, the "*awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-qalamu*" report converged with or was grafted onto a predestinarian version of the "*lammā khalaqa llāhu l-ʿaqla*" report. The marriage of the two resulted in a peculiar offspring intended to effect some sort of harmonization or reconciliation between two originally incompatible families. Or the intent may have been to mitigate the perceived baleful consequences of the more radically Qadarī versions of the *Aqbil!* report. We give two examples of this offspring, both with a tripartite structure.

#16) Kāmil VI 2272-3 (= al-Suyūṭī, La'ālī I 130-1, from Ibn ʿAdiy, & al-Dāraquṭnī's Gharā'ib Mālik; partially quoted in Mīzān IV 61 #8298, & Tahdhīb IX 506) :

ISNĀD ... al-Rabīʿ b. Sulaymān al-Jīzī[48] (d.256/870) } Muḥammad b. Wahb al-Dimashqī[49] } al-Walīd b. Muslim[50] (d.195/810) } the Medinan *faqīh* Mālik b. Anas (d.179/795) } Sumay[51] (d.130/747-8 - 135/752-3) } Abū Ṣāliḥ Dhakwān al-Sammān[52] (d.101/719-20) } Abū Hurayrah (d.59/679) } *marfūʿ*.

[Note the variant *riwāyah* with shorter text in Ibn al-Jawzī, <u>Adhkiyā'</u> 7: ... } Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Firyābī (d.301/913-4) } Hishām b. Khālid al-Azraq[53] (d.249/863) } al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā al-Khushanī[54] (d. after 190/806) } "Abū 'AbdAllāh *mawlā banī Umayyah*" } Abū Ṣāliḥ } Abū Hurayrah } *marfū'* :

"awwalu shay'in khalaqahu llāhu l-qalamu..., thumma khalaqa l-'aqla wa qāla, wa 'izzatī la-ukmilannaka...";
cf. ch.1 report #8.a.]

The text in <u>Kāmil</u> & <u>La'ālī</u> begins: <u>i</u> *"awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-qalamu, thumma khalaqa l-Nūn* the 'inkwell'", with the Pen writing all that has and that shall come to pass, *"min 'amalin aw ajalin aw atharin"*[55]. Once the Pen completed writing, it falls silent forever. <u>ii</u> Suddenly: *"thumma khalaqa l-'aqla* Then (God) created *al-'aql*". Omitting the 'testing' completely, the text moves directly to the 'encomium', *"mā khalaqtu khalqan a'jaba ilayya min-ka!"*. Then to a 'listing' of predestinarian intent, *"la-ukmilannaka fī-man aḥbabtu wa la-unqiṣannaka fī-man abghaḍtu"*: whomever God favors is granted a complete share of *'aql*, and whomever He despises is granted a diminished portion (cf. ch.1 #2, #3, & above #15). <u>iii</u> The report concludes by appending a Prophetic saying defining what *kamāl al-'aql* and *nuqṣān al-'aql* consist of: performing acts of obedience, either to God or to the Devil.

The critical discussion centered on the identity of Muḥammad b. Wahb al-Dimashqī, most often pointed to as midwife for this report. Ibn ʿAdiy dismissed it as *bāṭil & munkar*, while al-Dāraquṭnī remarked that it had no corroborating support from known reports of Mālik or Sumay, and without pinpointing blame suggested that one of its transmitters had unintentionally conflated two separate *ḥadīths* into one (*dakhala ʿalā baʿḍihim ḥadīthun fī ḥadīthin*; La'ālī I 131). The *isnād* discloses the role of several Damascene Murji'ī figures known for expertise in *fiqh* (students of al-Awzāʿī or Mālik b. Anas), and active propagators of *ḥadīth* at the turn of the 2nd\3rd century, who mingled theological *irjā'* with predestinarian views.[56] Its attribution in this misshapen 'twin' form to Mālik and the Ḥijāz is untenable; more plausible is an Iraqi Murji'ī input. Yet al-Walīd b. Muslim (above n.50), who was in contact with Ḥijāzī and Iraqi authorities, conceivably assisted at the birth of this report. It is possible that the older Syrian Qadarī trend exploited by Makḥūl and Ghaylān, and perhaps associated with Murji'ī views on faith and deeds, may have eased the way to this pairing of *qalam* and *ʿaql* (see Theologie I 129).

The other report takes a different route from Syria back to Medinah on a contrived *isnād* through some shadowy figures to Zayd b. ʿAlī ... } ʿAlī. Its tripartite format represents basically the same text as report #16, yet with

interesting variants such as the form of the 'testing' (cf. ch.1 #10, *istanṭaqahu*). It was probably imported into Baghdad by the same Damascene Murji'ī (later "*jahmī*") circles.

#17) La'ālī I 131-2 (from al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī) :

ISNĀD ...Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr *al-Qāḍī* } Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Razaqī[57] } Mūsā b. 'AbdAllāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib[58] } Fāṭimah bint Sa'īd b. 'Uqbah } her father Sa'īd b. 'Uqbah b. Shaddād al-Juhanī[59] } Zayd b. 'Alī (d.122/740) } his father } & grandfather (al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī) } 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib } *marfū'*:

> "The first thing God created is the Pen. Then He created the inkwell/*al-dawāh*, and this is His saying, [Q 68:1] "*Nūn wa l-qalam*", the *nūn* is the inkwell. Then He created for the Pen the inscription/*khaṭṭ*[60] of what will come to pass of created-beings or livelihood or life-term or actions until the Final Hour arrives; and (He created the inscription of) what will come to pass of (assignment to) Paradise or Hellfire until the Final Hour arrives.
>
> *Wa khalaqa l-'aqla fa-istanṭaqahu* And He created *al-'aql*, then He interrogated him, so (*al-'aql*) answered Him. Then (God) said to him, "*Idhhab* Depart!" so he went. Then He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He interrogated him, and (*al-'aql*) answered him. Then He said, "By My Power and My Glory! I did not create anything dearer to Me than thee, nor better than thee. Certainly I shall place you in the one whom I love, and certainly I shall make you lacking/*la-unqiṣannaka*[61] from the one whom I hate."

> Then the Prophet *Ṣ* said, "The most perfect of people in *ʿaql* are the most obedient of them to God/*aṭwaʿuhum li-llāhi*, and the most performing-of-deeds in obeying Him/*aʿmaluhum bi-ṭāʿatihi*. While the most defective of people in *ʿaql* are the most obedient of them to Satan, and the most performing-of-deeds in obeying him."

The theme that abundance of *ʿaql* leads to obedience to God while its deficiency leads to obeying the Devil was cultivated in Kufan Murji'ī circles. This notion has an older pedigree rooted in first century debates over *qadar*, ie. whether men's evil acts are pre-ordained by God, or are brought about by his own disobedience (= his obeying Satan).[62] The predestinarian view generally held that man is not able to effect his own salvation by his own power. Thus the Syrian Murji'ī of Ḥimṣ Baqiyyah b. al-Walīd (d.197/812-3) transmitted a report from } Muḥammad Ibn Abī Jamīlah } Nāfiʿ } Ibn ʿUmar } *marfūʿ* : "If God had wished not to be disobeyed, he would not have created *Iblīs*."[63]

A literary critic might object to the artless and heavyhanded manipulation of these disparate traditions, crudely stitched together for polemical purposes. Compared to the terse power of the language in the *Aqbil!* reports, they lack poetry and subtlety. The curious reconciliation between *qalam* and *ʿaql* attempted in reports #16 & #17 is clearly at the expense of the latter. The Pen is the first

created thing (or "the first of God's creation"), and what is written by it cannot be cancelled. Yet *ʿaql* still plays a role as the next thing created. Was it this combination which smoothed the way for *ʿaql* being placed "In the Beginning" of creation in the following centuries?

***

NOTES

1. Thus the philosopher al-Fārābī referred to the common notion of *ʿaql* held by the generality of people: *al-shay' alladhī bi-hi yaqūlu l-jumhūru fī l-insāni annahu ʿāqilun;* Risālah fī l-ʿAql, ed. M. Bouyges [Beirut 1938] 3 §1.

2. Eg. al-Ṭabarānī, al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr XI 148 #11439, on the *isnād* ... Baqiyyah } Ibn Jurayj } ʿAṭā' } Ibn ʿAbbās } *marfūʿ: "lammā khalaqa llāhu Jannata ʿAdnin, khalaqa fī-hā mā lā ʿaynun ra'at wa lā udhunun samiʿat wa lā khuṭira ʿalā qalbi basharin, thumma qāla la-hā: "takallamī!", fa-qālat: "qad aflaḥa l-mu'minūn"."* And its version *via* the Kufan Shīʿī Yaḥyā b. Salamah b. Kuhayl al-Haḍramī (d.172/788-9 or 179/795) } his father (d.121/739) } Mujāhid } Ibn ʿAbbās } *marfūʿ: "inna llāha khalaqa Jannata ʿAdnin min yāqūtatin ḥamrā', fa-qāla la-hā...";* Mīzān IV 382 (from al-Khaṭīb, T.Baghdād). Also see ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd al-Dārimī, Radd ʿalā l-Marīsī 551 *via*: Aḥmad b. Yūnus } al-Thawrī } al-Aʿmash } the Medinan Successor Abū Ṣāliḥ Dhakwān } Abū Hurayrah } *marfūʿ: "lammā khalaqa llāhu l-khalqa, kataba bi-yadihi ʿalā nafsihi: inna raḥmatī taghlibu ghaḍabī"*. And al-Thaʿlabī, ʿArā'is al-Majālis 6: *"lammā khalaqa llāhu taʿālā l-arḍa..."*; & 15 (on Kaʿb al-Aḥbār): *"lammā khalaqa llāhu taʿālā l-ʿarsha qāla..."*. & See above ch.1 n.4.

3. *Aqbala* 'he approached, came facing'; *vs. adbara* 'he retreated, turning his back (to depart)', syn. *wallā* (cf. Q 9:25 & 74:36). Thus *qubul & dubur*, the anterior & posterior portions of human anatomy. Note the expression, "*ʿarafa qabīlahu min dabīrih* he distinguished his obedience from his disobedience" [Lexicon *d.b.r.*].

4. Eg. Kaʿb al-Aḥbār's report (God to Moses): "...*al-ghinā muqbilan, & al-faqr muqbilan*"; al-Fārisī, Bad' al-Khalq 215. The discourse of the Medinan *qāṣṣ* Abū Ḥāzim Salamah b. Dīnār to the Caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, treats the theme of the utility of man's *ḥīlah* 'ruse' in compensating for paucity of *rizq*: "...*fa-kamā manaʿanī rizqa ghayri ka-dhālika manaʿa ghayrī rizqī, fa-ʿalā mā aqtulu nafsī fī l-iqbāli wa l-idbār?!*"; pseudo-Ibn Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa l-Siyāsah [Cairo 1967] II 77.

5. Reflected in a saying attributed to ʿAlī by imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn: "*al-rizq* 'fortune' is entrusted to *al-ḥumq* 'stupidity', *al-ḥirmān* 'ill-fatedness' is entrusted to *al-ʿaql* 'intelligence*wisdom', and *al-balā'* affliction is entrusted to *al-ṣabr* 'patient-endurance'"; al-Kulaynī, al-Rawḍah min al-Kāfī 221 #277. Cf. as a prophetic *ḥadīth*, in ʿIqd al-Farīd II 247-8, variant: "...*wa wakala l-rizqa bi-l-jahl li-yaʿtabira l-ʿāqilu fa-yaʿlamu an laysa la-hu fī l-rizq ḥīlah*"; & ʿIlal, *bāb 83*, 92-3 #1 (on al-Ṣādiq); cf. the sayings in al-Kutubī, Ghurar 118.

See verses in Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Bahjat al-Majālis I 546: ...*fa-adbartu ʿan al-ʿaqli wa aqbaltu ʿalā l-ḥumq*; also ibid. 532 (God to Moses), and 533 (ʿAlī); and verses in al-Kutubī, Ghurar 139: "*lā tanẓuranna ilā l-jahālati wa l-ḥijā * wa unẓur ilā l-idbāri wa l-iqbāl, kam min ṣaḥīḥi l-ʿaqli akhṭa'ahu l-ghinā * wa ʿadīmu ʿaqlin fāza bi-l-amwāl.*"

6. "*Anā li-l-ʿāqili l-mudbiri arjā minnī li-l-aḥmaqi l-muqbil*"; found in ʿIqd al-Farīd II 245 (al-Aḥnaf b. Qays); Ibn Ḥibbān, Rawḍat al-ʿUqalā' 123 (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī); Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, ʿAql 57 #73 (al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf quoting Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān); al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī, Muḥāḍarāt al-Udabā' [Beirut 1961] I 6 (a *qawl* of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf). Very possibly it should be construed differently: *al-ʿāqil*

al-mudbir as the intelligent man of paltry worldly fortune, *vs.* *al-aḥmaq al-muqbil* as the fool who enjoys worldly abundance.

Cf. Q 70:17 (describing Hellfire): wa tad'ū man adbara wa tawallā

7. The faithless ingrate threatened with Hellfire is depicted as slyly calculating: Q 74:23 "*thumma adbara wa stakbara* then he turned away and was disdainful". In 79:21-2 Pharoah rejects Moses and the truth, "turning away/*adbara*, devising schemes". In contrast, as Moses approached the burning bush, he was afraid: 28:31 "he turned back retreating/*wallā mudbiran* and did not look back"; God called out to him, "Come forward/*aqbil!* and fear not!".

8. See the employment of Q 74:37-8 by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (*Risālah*, ed. Ritter, Der Islam XXI/1933/70 line 8f.), linking it with human capacity to perform deeds and God's Justice: "...because God has given them capability/*qudrah* by which they advance or hang back so that he who does good should deserve Paradise and he who does evil should deserve Hellfire".

9. See the remarks by M. Schwarz, Oriens XX/1967/28.

10. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, Qiṣaṣ 193 #242: "*Anā mundhu saqaṭtu ilā l-dunyā istadbartu[hā] wa istaqbaltu l-ākhirah; yā bunayya lā taṭlub min al-amri mudbiran wa lā tarfuḍ minhu muqbilan, fa-inna dhālika yuḍillu l-ra'ya wa yuzrī bi-l-ʿaqli.*" Cf. Luqmān, in Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Dhamm al-Dunyā, ed. E. Almagor [Jerusalem 1984] 57 #153 > al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā' III 181. Its meaning finds a parallel in another Luqmānic saying to the effect that all of man's efforts and stratagems are powerless to change his worldly fortune or lack thereof: "*khallatāni aʿyat l-ḥīlah fī-himā, idbāru l-amri idhā aqbala wa iqbāluhu idhā adbara*"; Ibn Fātik,

Mukhtār al-Ḥikam 277. And compare Aktham b. Ṣayfī: "*yashtabihu\yatashābahu l-amru idhā aqbala fa-idhā adbara ʿarafahu l-aḥmaqu wa l-kayyis*"; Abū l-Shaykh al-Iṣbahānī, al-Amthāl fī l-Ḥadīth al-Nabawiy, ed. ʿA.-ʿA. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd [Bombay 1982] 251.

11. Or perhaps in the sense of one's negligence or inattention (*adbara ʿan al-amr*). May one construe the meaning here to involve spurning this world (*idbār li-l-dunyā*)? See a converging statement by al-Ṣādiq dealing with *dunyā*'s fortune in relation to man's *iqbāl & idbār (muqbilatun ʿalayhi & mudbiratun ʿan-hu)*; ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī, Mishkāt al-Anwār [Najaf 1370] 269. The early Companion ʿAmr b. ʿUtbah b. Farqad al-Sulamī is said to have beseeched God: "*in yuzahhidanī fī l-dunyā fa-mā ubālī mā aqbala wa mā adbara*", Tahdhīb VIII 75.

12. Maṭālib IV 334-5 #4539 (from Musnad of Aḥmad b. Manīʿ al-Baghawī d.244/858): "*inna li-kulli shay'in iqbālan wa idbāran, wa inna li-hādhā l-dīn iqbālan wa idbāran...*".

13. Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, al-Ishrāf fī Manāzil al-Ashrāf, ed. M.S. Ibrāhīm [Cairo 1990] 20-1 #5, on the *isnād* ...} the Basran Jarīr b. Ḥāzim d.175/791-2 } the Palestinian Yūnus b. Yazīd Ibn Abī l-Najjād al-Aylī d.159/776 } Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d.125/743) } 'raised' to ʿUmar. Yūnus' grandfather was a *mawlā* of Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān; he was generally deemed *thiqah* or *ṣāliḥ* and known for his expertise in reports from his teacher al-Zuhrī (Ibn ʿAmmār: *ʿārifun bi-ra'yihi*; Ibn al-Mubārak: *kitābuhu ṣaḥīḥ*); yet Ibn Ḥanbal blamed him for *munkarāt* in his Zuhrī reports; Tahdhīb XI 450-2 #769; & Ibn Maʿīn, Maʿrifat al-Rijāl I 120-2 #s 591-4 & 596, II 192 #s 637-8.

14. Ibn Ḥibbān, Rawḍat al-ʿUqalāʾ 31, Ibn Masʿūd: "*inna li-hādhihi l-qulūb shahwatan wa iqbālan, wa inna la-hā fatratan wa idbāran; fa-khudhūhā ʿinda shahwatihā wa iqbālihā wa daʿūhā ʿinda fatratihā wa idbārihā*" (note the positive sense of *shahwah* here); & al-Ṭabrisī, Mishkāt al-Anwār 131, ʿAlī: "...*inna li-l-qulūb iqbālan wa idbāran, fa-idhā aqbalat fa-ḥmilūhā ʿalā l-nawāfili wa idhā adbarat fa-qtaṣirū bi-hā ʿalā l-farāʾiḍ.*" And the version without *iqbāl* & *idbār* of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī in the *zawāʾid* to Ibn Ḥanbal, Zuhd II 234 & 249: "*inna l-qulūba tamūtu wa taḥyā (tuḥyā?)...fa-idhā hiya uḥyiyat fa-addibūhā bi-l-taṭawwuʿ*"; (see Q 6:122, often glossed as God's granting the light of guidance or of intelligence). Cf. ʿAql 63-4 #94, ʿAlī: "*inna hādhihi l-qulūba tamallu kamā tamallu l-abdānu fa-ltamisū la-hā min al-ḥikmati ṭurafan.*" Further, the reports in Ibn al-Jawzī, Akhbār al-Ḥumqā [Cairo 1983] 11-3.

15. For the Iranian background to this notion, see especially Shaul Shaked, "Paymān: An Iranian Idea in Contact with Greek Thought and Islam", Studia Iranica, Cahier 5 [Paris 1987] 217-40, on 219-20, 230, 233-6 > Shaked, From Zoroastrian Iran to Islam [Variorum 1995] VIII. The erudite Israeli focuses on two passages from the Pahlavi encyclopedia Dēnkard III §68 [two contrasting lists of sixteen pairs of virtues \ vices] & §286, and suggests ("Paymān" 230-1) that this Iranian notion finds "some feeble repercussions" in the Muʿtazilī al-Naẓẓām's conception of the 'two impulses' occuring to the person within (*al-khāṭirāni*: one 'advancing'/*al-iqdām*, the other 'desisting'/*al-kaff*). However, the (earlier?) materials adduced in our previous note provide a more plausible parallel to this Iranian notion, although lacking contrasting pairs; thus Shaked's assessment may need revision (233: "it was certainly never prominently absorbed into any widely recognized system of ethical thought in Islam"). Further, see

J.P. de Menasce, Une encyclopédie mazdéenne: Le Dēnkart [Paris 1958] ch.2 *passim*; & idem, Le troisième livre du Dēnkart [Paris 1973] 73-4, 281-3, 388.

16. As with Maybudī's treatment of the *Aqbil!* report (ch.1 #8.a); and see Murata, Tao of Islam 165; W.C. Chittick, The Sufi Path of Knowledge [Albany 1989] index, *ʻaql*. For two contrasting developments of the theme of *iqbāl & idbār*, see the 7th/13th century Baghdadi Ṣūfī ʻUmar al-Suhrawardī: A. Hartmann, Der Islam LXII/1985/86; and the Shīʻī Ṣafawid scholar Muḥsin-i Fayḍ-i Kāshānī (d.1090/1679), Qurrat al-ʻUyūn fī l-Maʻārif wa l-Ḥikam [2nd ed. Beirut 1979] 352-3, 355-6.

17. For the universality of this sapiential theme in the ancient Near East, see eg. Proverbs 1:20-33, Wisdom's reproach describing the fate of the foolish who disregard reproof, concluding with the contrast: "For the simpleton turns a deaf ear and comes to grief, and the stupid are ruined by their own complacency. But whoever listens to me shall live without a care...". Or the well known piece of popular Hellenistic moral philosophy Cebes' Tablet, whose teaching takes the form of an exegesis of an inscription in the Temple of Cronos; see The Tabula of Cebes, trans. J.T. Fitzgerald & L.M. White [Chico, CA 1983] §3.1. For a penetrating analysis of this aspect of ancient Near Eastern Wisdom, see Walter Zimmerli, "Concerning the Structure of Old Testament Wisdom", ZDMG X/1933/177-204 > trans. in Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom, ed. J.L. Crenshaw [New York 1976] 175-207, on 178-84; & cf. L. Kalugila, The Wise King [Lund 1980] 38f.

18. Note that one archaic meaning for the English noun 'intelligent' is "a hearer"; The Oxford English Dictionary,

s.v. The verbal occurences of *ʿaqala* & *iʿqil* in early Muslim traditions connoting 'comprehending the meaning of what one audits' (ie. *fahm al-bayān*) are abundant; see eg. Concordance IV 299a - 300a, *ʿaqala* with prepositions *ʿan* & *min*. A good example is found in an early version of the Prophet's farewill sermon given by Ibn Isḥāq: "...*fa-iʿqilū ayyuhā l-nās qawlī..., ayyuhā l-nās ismaʿū qawlī wa iʿqilūhu* O people, Listen to my words and Understand them!"; Ibn Hishām, al-Sīrat al-Nabawiyyah, ed. M.F. al-Sarjānī [Cairo 1978] IV 603-4.

Such prefatory formulae were part of the conventions of the orator when publicly proclaiming, and of the sage/*ḥakīm* when dispensing wisdom admonitions; see examples in Ṣafwat, Khuṭab al-ʿArab I 38, 39, 73, 129, 134-5; al-Maydānī, Majmaʿal-Amthāl II 183; Ibn Abī Shaybah, Muṣannaf XIII 315-6 #16456. It also played a role in the oracular intercourse between the *Jāhilī* diviner or mantic priest (*kāhin*) with his familiar spirit-demon (*tābiʿ*); see Khuṭab al-ʿArab I 88 [from al-Qālī, al-Amālī I 133], on Khunāfir b. al-Taw'am al-Ḥimyarī; & Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah [2nd ed., Beirut 1986] 112 #62, on Sawād b. Qārib al-Dawsī.

19. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d.328/940), ʿIqd al-Farīd II 244, unfortunately without *isnād ("fī baʿḍi l-ḥadīth")*; cf. ch.1 reports #2 & #3.

20. Again we meet with the intimate conjunction of *samʿ* and *ʿaql*; thus "*ismaʿ! wa iʿqil!*" represents the interior corollary to "*samʿan wa ṭāʿatan*".

21. Eg., al-Ṣādiq's recounting God's colloquy with Moses (Uṣūl II 61-2 #7): "*Yā Mūsā b. ʿImrān, mā khalaqtu khalqan aḥabba ilayya min ʿabdī l-mu'min.*"

22. R. Arnaldez observes that in Qur'ānic usage the verb *khalaqa* is applied *inter alia* to all creation, day & night, sun & moon: "God's every action on one of his creatures can be called creation"; E.I.[2] IV 981b.

23. Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyun al-Akhbār* I 280 > al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab III 235. *Ṣuwwira* here literally connotes 'sculptured into an image*figure'. The conjunction *'aql* + light \ *ḥumq* + darkness, may well reflect old-Arab imagery of 'the light of the face' as emblematic of the inner person. The wisdom tale by Ibn al-Muqaffa' in his Yatīmat al-Sulṭān, wherein *'aql* 'wisdom' appears to the sage in the form of a richly adorned youth ("*tamaththala la-hu l-'aqlu 'alā ṣūrati shābb*") with sun-like face, derives from Iranian wisdom tradition; Rasā'il al-Bulaghā', ed. Kurd 'Alī [Cairo 1946] 169f.; & see Shaked, "Paymān" 229-30.

24. The version reported from 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib by al-Aṣbagh b. Nubātah, is found in Maḥāsin, *k. maṣābīḥ al-ẓulam, bāb al-'aql*, 191 #2 > Uṣūl I *k. al-'aql wa l-jahl*, 10 #2 > Ibn Bābawayh, Mawā'iẓ 72, & Man Lā Yaḥduruhu l-Faqīh IV 299. Another version given by Ibn Abī l-Dunyā ('Aql 37-8 #26) reaches back to the Syrian Successor Abū 'Uthmān Sharāḥīl b. Marthad al-Ṣan'ānī (pupil of Salmān al-Fārisī & Ka'b al-Aḥbār) } "Ḥammād *rajul min ahli Makkah*", giving *ḥusn al-khuluq* in place of *ḥayā'*. Also see Ibn al-Jawzī, Dhamm al-Hawā 9; al-Kutubī, Ghurar al-Khaṣā'iṣ 86; & 'Aql 38 #27 (= a third version with *'aql, dīn, & 'ilm*). There is no reason to emend the text of Maḥāsin & Uṣūl from *ḥayā'* to *ḥayāt* 'life', as Amir-Moezzi (Guide Divin 24 n.26 > Divine Guide 144 n.26) prefers; the conjunction of *dīn* with *ḥayā'* is commonplace in the literature of *akhlāq* and *zuhd*. Eg. Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Makārim al-Akhlāq 21-2 #98, & 24 #111.

25. Al-Kharā'iṭī, Makārim al-Akhlāq, ed. ʿA. b. Ḥajjāj [Cairo n.d.] 6 #36 > Kanz al-ʿUmmāl III 7 #63: "*law kāna ḥusnu l-khuluqi rajulan yamshī fī l-nās la-kāna rajulan ṣāliḥan.*" The same is predicated of *al-ḥayā'* 'organic-shame'; Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Makārim al-Akhlāq 19 #89 > Kanz III 72 #649 & 73 #654.

26. Al-Kharā'iṭī, Makārim 2 #s 7 & 9; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl III 4 #30, 7 #s 64 & 70, 11 #110. One definition of the art of *firāsah*, foretelling the secrets of characters and minds on the basis of physiognomy and external traits, was given as: "*al-istidlāl bi l-khalq al-ẓāhir ʿalā l-khulq al-bāṭin*"; see T. Fahd, "Firāsa", E.I.[2] II 916a-7a, on 916a.

27. Kanz al-ʿUmmāl III 3 #13: "*ḥusnu l-khuluqi khalqu llāhi l-aʿẓam.*"

28. This point was made by Ibn Taymiyyah with regard to the praise in the 'encomium'; see Minhāj al-Sunnat al-Nabawiyyah fī Naqd Kalām al-Shīʿah wa l-Qadariyyah [Cairo 1321-2] IV 147: "*...fa-l-murād bi-hi annahu khāṭabahu ḥīna khalaqahu lā annahu awwalu l-makhlūqāt... fa-dalla ʿalā annahu khalaqa qablahu ghayrahu*"; & idem, Majmūʿ Fatāwā Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyyah [al-Riyāḍ 1381] XVIII 337.

That *ʿaql* is *makhlūq* and apportioned among people by God (*maqsūm*) was the general opinion among Muslims from a very early era. This is abundantly substantiated in early reports; see also van Ess, Anfänge muslimischer Theologie 52; & Theologie II 46-8 (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's position).

29. Those wishing to better apprehend the differing lines of development may re-read the reports in ch.1 while consulting van Ess' works, esp. Zwischen and Theologie und Gesellschaft I - III.

30. Eg. Ibn Abī Shaybah, Muṣannaf XIV *kitāb al-awā'il*, 114 #17777, on Wakī‘ b. al-Jarrāḥ (d.197/812) } Mūsā b. ‘Ubaydah al-Rabadhī (d.152/769) } Muḥammad b. Ka‘b al-Quraẓī: "*khalaqa llāhu l-arwāḥa qabla an yakhluqa l-ajsāda fa-akhadha mīthāqahum* God created the Sprits before He created the Bodies, then He took their covenant"; cf. Q 7:172, & Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, Jāmi‘ al-Bayān ed. Sa‘īd ‘Alī *et al* [Cairo 1954-7] XIII 244. To al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was ascribed the saying: "*awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-arwāḥu*"; Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī, al-Bad' wa l-Ta'rīkh [Paris 1899] I 147, & 150, on Wahb: "*inna llāha lammā arāda khalqa l-khalqi khalaqa l-rūḥ, thumma khalaqa min al-rūḥ al-hawā'*."

31. Mujāhid: "*bad'u l-khalqi l-‘arshu wa l-mā'u wa l-hawā', wa khuliqat al-arḍu min al-mā'*"; Ibn Abī Shaybah, Muṣannaf XIV 106 #17743; & al-Maqdisī, al-Bad' wa l-Ta'rīkh I 147, also Ibn ‘Abbās ("*awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-‘arshu wa l-kursī*"). Cf. al-Tha‘labī, ‘Arā'is al-Majālis 15, on Ka‘b al-Aḥbār: "*lammā khalaqa llāhu Ta‘ālā l-‘arsha qāla...*".

32. Eg. the Aṣl book of Durūst b. Abī Manṣūr, where al-Ṣādiq informs Zurārah b. A‘yan: "*innī la-a‘lamu awwala shay'in khuliqa: ...al-ḥurūf*"; al-Uṣūl al-Sittah ‘Ashar [Tehran 1371q] 160; cf. Uṣūl I *bāb ḥudūth al-asmā'*, 112 #1. See G. Vajda, "Les lettres et les sons de la langue Arabe d'après Abū Ḥatim al-Rāzī", Arabica VIII/1961/113-30, on 119-21, > Études de théologie et de philosophie arabo-islamiques [Variorum, London 1986] IV. Further, I. Goldziher, "Mélanges Judéo-Arabes: XXIV La Création des Lettres", Revue des Études Juives C/1905/188-90; Moshe Idel, Kabbalah, New Perspectives [New Haven 1988] *passim*; & Theologie I 401.

33. A.J. Wensinck & C.E. Bosworth, "Lawḥ", E.I.² V 698,

noting the ultimate connection with the Babylonian 'tablets of fate', and the conjunction of ideas about the heavenly tablets as the originals of revelation & as "the record of the decisions of the divine will" in both the pseudepigraphical books (Jubilees, Enoch) and the Qur'ān (85:22; + exegesis of 97:1).

34. Uri Rubin, "Pre-existence and Light. Aspects of the Concept of *Nūr Muḥammad*", Israel Oriental Studies V/1975/62-119; idem, "Prophets and Progenitors in the Early Shīʿī Tradition", JSAI I/1979/41-64; E. Kohlberg, "Imām and Community in the Pre-Ghayba Period", in Authority and Political Culture in Shīʿism, ed. S.A. Arjomand [Albany 1988] 25-52, on 31. It should be stressed that what has been taken for 'pre-existence' in some reports, may have to do merely with God's foreknowledge, ie. all the souls predestined for bodies, emphasizing divine foreknowledge in a predestinarian framework.

35. Or "the original 'thing' from which God created His creation"; al-Kulaynī, al-Rawḍah min al-Kāfī, ed. ʿA.A. al-Ghaffārī [2nd ed. Tehran 1389] 94-5 #67, on a problematic *isnād* in its higher links. This report comes from a book of the Imāmī compiler al-Ḥusayn\al-Ḥasan b. Saʿīd al-Ahwāzī (fl. late 2nd - first third of 3rd cent.; F.Nadīm 277, R.Najāshī I 171-6 #135, F.Ṭūsī 58-9 #220), who reports it from ...} Muḥammad b. ʿAṭiyyah } al-Bāqir. Possibly this "Muḥammad b. ʿAṭiyyah" is the Kufan associate of al-Ṣādiq referred to as "al-Ḥannāṭ", whose book was transmitted by Ibn Abī ʿUmayr (R.Najāshī II 255 #953, R.Ṭūsī 295 #246, Tanqīh III 150-1 #11064).

36. Either 'Fate' in the sense of *dahr* (?), or God's determining decree*measure. A report from pseudo-Ibn

Qutaybah, al-Imāmah wa l-Siyāsah II 74 (see Ḥilyat IV 15, & Zwischen 93), has the Successor Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān al-Yamanī (d.106/725) ask the Caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (rg. 96-99/715-7), "*mā awwalu shay'in khuliqa* what is the first thing created?", answering his own query with 'the Pen':

> "...The first thing (God) wrote was 'In the Name of God, the Merciful the Compassionate', then He wrote *al-qadar*, its good and its bad till the Resurrection Day".

See T.Baghdād IX 59 #4639, ... } the Kufan Shīʿī ʿAbdAllāh b. Mūsā al-ʿAbsī (d.213/828) } al-Aʿmash (d.148/765) } the Kufan Successor Abū Ẓabyān [=Ḥusayn b. Jundub\Jundab] (d.90/709) } Ibn ʿAbbās: "*inna awwala mā khalaqa llāhu l-qalamu, fa-qāla la-hu uktub! ... uktub al-qadar wa mā huwa kā'in min dhālika l-yawmi ilā yawmi l-qiyāmah...*". Further, for God's creating 'happiness' and 'misery' (*al-saʿādah wa l-shaqā'*, ie. *al-qadar*) before all else at the start of creation, see eg. Maḥāsin, *k. maṣābīḥ al-ẓulam, bāb al-saʿādah wa l-shaqā'*, 279-80 ## 405 & 406, & *bāb bad' al-khalq*, 281-3 ## 412 & 413; Uṣūl I 152-3 #1, & II 6-7 #1.

37. Rawḍah 94-5 #67: "...*wa khalaqa l-shay'a lladhī jamīʿu l-ashyā' min-hu wa huwa l-mā'u lladhī khalaqa l-ashyā' min-hu*". The imam then gives an account (reaching back to Genesis 1.) whereby the universe is created from water, then from water came wind/*rīḥ* (whose stirring of water formed the froth of ideal Earth), and from water came fire/*nār* (whose steam yields the Heavens); finally God created the material universe/*al-khalq*. Al-Bāqir gives pride of place to *rīḥ* as *jundu llāhi l-akbar* (= 'Spirit'), over both *mā'* & *nār*. For parallel versions of this creation

scheme with differing details (eg. Earth from the ashes of fire) reported by al-ʿAlāʾ b. Razīn } Muḥammad b. Muslim (ch.1 n.123) } al-Bāqir, see Rawḍah 95 #68 & 153 #142; & Ibn Bābawayh, Tawḥīd 66-7 #20. The term *shayʾ* has a particular technical meaning in these reports.

38. A vast topic; see eg. al-Maqdisī, Badʾ I 147f., & 150 on ʿAbdAllāh b. Salām (*nūr* > *ẓulmah* > *nūr* > *māʾ*: "*yukhlaqu min dhālika l-māʾi l-ashyāʾ kulluhā*"); ibid. on Wahb (*rūḥ* > *hawāʾ* > *nūr* & *ẓulmah* > *māʾ* > *nār* & *rīḥ*); al-Kisāʾī, Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ I 8-11, on Kaʿb (includes the *Aqbil!* report); al-Thaʿlabī, ʿArāʾis 15-6; pseudo-Ibn al-ʿArabī, Muḥāḍarat al-Abrār wa Musāmarat al-Akhyār [Beirut n.d.] II 203-4, on Ibn ʿAbbās (*nūr* > *ẓulmah* > *nūr* > *māʾ* > *rīḥ* > *ʿarsh* > *kursī* > *qalam* > *lawḥ*). Further, T. Fahd, "La Naissance du Monde selon l'Islam", Sources Orientales I [Paris 1959] 237-79; & R. Arnaldez, "Khalḳ", E.I.² IV on 983b-5a.

39. Zwischen 75-9, noting the pre-Islamic background in the notion of *dahr* & *manīyah* 'Fate' and its possible adaption to Qur'ānic terminology (77).

40. See Zwischen 78-9; we render the version in ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī, Tafsīr, ed. al-Jazāʾirī [Najaf 1966-8] II 198 (on Q 34:3 *fī kitābin mubīnin*) via Ibn Abī ʿUmayr } Hishām al-Jawālīqī } al-Ṣādiq; & cf. ibid. II 379-80 (Q 68:1): "*inna llāha khalaqa l-qalama min shajaratin fī l-jannati yuqālu la-hā l-khuld*". Further, see the Ibn ʿAbbās reports in Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, Jāmiʿ al-Bayān XXIX 14-15; discussed by Cl. Gilliot, "L'*Opus Magnum* de J. van Ess", Arabica XL/1993/345-402, on 367-9.

41. The nominal proposition must be the proper reading,

rather than a verbal statement with *naṣb* of *awwalu* & *al-qalamu;* ie. "*awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu (huwa) l-qalamu, fa-qāla la-hu...*". The placement of "*fā'*" also demands a nominal sense, otherwise one would expect to read: "*awwala mā khalaqa llāhu l-qalama qāla*". This point should also be kept in mind when reading the later *Aqbil!* reports.

42. Or again, with *mā* understood as *maṣdariyyah*, rendering the nominal proposition as: "The first of God's creation is\was the Pen".

43. "*Kataba mā kāna wa mā huwa kā'in*", or "what is in being and what will be"; cf. W.M. Watt, The Formative Period of Islamic Thought [Edinburgh 1973] 105.

44. Similar versions: Concordance II 71b (al-Tirmidhī, *qadar* #17, & Abū Dāwūd, *qadar* #10, both on Syrian chains: "*awwalu mā khalaqa...*"); Ibn Abī Shaybah, Muṣannaf XIV *kitāb al-awā'il*, 114 #17771 (via a Syrian chain on ʿUbādah b. al-Walīd b. ʿUbādah b. al-Ṣāmit, on his grandfather } *marfūʿ*: "*awwalu shay'in khalaqa llāhu l-qalamu, fa-qāla ijrī! fa-jarā tilka l-sāʿah bi-mā huwa kā'in*"); Ibn Ḥibbān, Rawḍat 157 (via a Yamanī-Meccan chain ... } Saʿīd b. Jubayr } Ibn ʿAbbās } *marfūʿ*: "*awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-qalamu thumma amarahu...*"); al-Ṭabarī, Jāmiʿ al-Bayān XXIX 16; Ḥilyat VIII 181 ("*awwalu [awwala?] kulli shay'in khalaqa llāhu al-qalamu, fa-amarahu...*"); ʿUthmān al-Dārimī, Radd ʿalā l-Marīsī 353-4; Maṭālib III 78 #2928 (from Musnad of Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī d.307/919-20).

45. This Meccan *mawlā* was a noted Qur'ān reader and pupil of Saʿīd b. Jubayr, Mujāhid, & ʿIkrama *mawlā* Ibn ʿAbbās. Ibn Ḥajar quotes Ibn Ḥibbān's remark: "Al-Qāsim was the only person to directly audit *tafsīr* from Mujāhid, and

whomever transmitted the *tafsīr* from Mujāhid actually took it from al-Qāsim's book/*akhadhahu min kitābi l-Qāsim*"; Tahdhīb VIII 310.

46. As a *qawl* of Ibn ʿAbbās; T.Baghdād XIV 205 #7491 (*tarjamah* of Abū Ṣāliḥ Yaḥyā b. Wāqid al-Ṭā'ī). Yaḥyā's *isnād*: } Abū Muʿāwiyah Hushaym b. Bashīr (d.183, of Wāsiṭ) } Manṣūr [b. Zādhān] (d.128-131, ascetic of Wāsiṭ) } al-Ḥakam b. ʿUtaybah (d.113-115, Kufan Shīʿī *faqīh*) } Abū Ẓabyān } Ibn ʿAbbās. Often we find a slightly differing *qalam* report mentioning the inkstand as well, given on the Kufan chain: ...al-Aʿmash } Abū Ẓabyān } Ibn ʿAbbās: "*awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-qalamu, thumma khalaqa l-nūn...*"; Ibn Abī Shaybah, Muṣannaf XIV 101 ## 17722-3 (& cf. 132 #17852, on ʿAṭā' } Saʿīd b. Jubayr } Ibn ʿAbbās); & T.Baghdād IX 59 #4639 (Sulaymān b. Muḥammad al-ʿAbsī).

47. Abū Lahab ('Father of Flame', the nickname of ʿAbd al-ʿUzzah b.ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib) was the Prophet's uncle and fierce enemy, one of the rare persons mentioned by name in the Qur'ān; see J. Barth, SEI 11. The point here is that Q 111:1 is an integral part of the *lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*, something which the Muʿtazilī ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd (d.144/761) denied in order to uphold God's justice. See van Ess, Traditionistische Polemik gegen ʿAmr b. ʿUbaid [Beirut & Wiesbaden 1967] 16f., text 10 §3 (=T.Baghdād XII 171); & Zwischen 167-8.

48. A *mawlā* of Azd from a town on the Nile close to Fusṭāṭ, he was a reputable *faqīh* transmitting from al-Shāfiʿī; Jarḥ III 464 #2082; Tahdhīb III 245 #472.

49. Muḥammad b. Wahb b. ʿAṭiyyah al-Sulamī; a Damascene deemed trustworthy or *ṣāliḥ*, transmitting from al-Walīd b. Muslim, Baqiyyah b. al-Walīd, and the Syrian Murji'ī Muḥam-

mad b. Shuʻayb b. Shābūr (d.200/816). See Jarḥ VIII 114 #508 (+ 48-9 #225?); Kāmil VI 2272-3; Mīzān IV 61 #8298; Tahdhīb IX 505-6 #831. Al-Dhahabī, following Ibn ʻAdiy, assigns responsibility for this *qalam* report to him, while distinguishing him from the 'weak' Damascene Muḥammad b. Wahb b. Muslim al-Qurashī. Ibn Ḥajar (Tahdhīb IX 506 #832, & Lisān al-Mīzān V 475-6 #1380), following Ibn ʻAsākir and al-Dāraquṭnī, instead assigns responsibility for it to Ibn Muslim al-Qurashī, and equates the two men.

50. *Mawlā banī Umayyah,* a prolific Damascene traditionist & pupil of al-Awzāʻī, he imported Iraqi & Ḥijāzī materials into Syria; generally *ṣāliḥ* but well known as a *raffāʻ* & for *tadlīs* on recognized 'liars'; Jarḥ IX 16-7 #70; Mīzān IV 347-8 #9405; Tahdhīb XI 151-5 #254.

51. The Medinan *mawlā* of Abū Bakr b. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith al-Makhzūmī, Sumay was a pupil of Abū Ṣāliḥ Dhakwān and an informant for Mālik; Tahdhīb IV 238-9 #407.

52. A Medinan *mawlā* whose business took him often to Kufah, said to be a pupil of Abū Hurayrah & other Companions. Deemed trustworthy, he served as an informant for leading Ḥijāzīs and Kufans; Jarḥ III 450-1 #2039; Tahdhīb III 219-20 #417.

53. The *muftī* of Damascus whom we met in ch.1 n.97.

54. An ascetic Damascene Murji'ī sometimes deemed reliable or *ṣadūq,* but frequently condemned as *matrūk & munkar al-ḥadīth* or even a 'liar'. A pupil of al-Awzāʻī and leading Ḥijāzīs including Mālik b. Anas & the Meccan Murji'ī ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz b. Abī Rawwād; he was an informant for his

colleague al-Walīd b. Muslim, and the Damascene Murji'īs Marwān b. Muḥammad al-Ṭāṭarī (d.210/825), Hishām b. ʿAmmār al-Sulamī (d.245/859), & Hishām b. Khālid al-Azraq. See Jarḥ III 44 #186; Kāmil II 736-7; Mīzān I 525; Tahdhīb II 326-7 #567.

55. *Athar* 'footsteps', ie. every action of man is predetermined; or figuratively 'effects' in the sense of what man 'leaves behind' as predestined punishment of his evil living; eg. Q 36:12 ***wa naktubu mā qaddamū wa athārahum*** **We write down [as reward for good] that which they send forward, and [as punishment for evil] that which they leave behind.**

56. See Theologie I 138-40; despite the reputation some had for ascetic life-styles, several were hostile to Ṣūfīs. The conjunction of predestinarian and Murji'ī views had been common from the late first century; Madelung, E.I.[2] VII 606b.

57. Reading al-Razaqī in place of "al-Raqqī": not M. b. al-Ḥasan b. Yazīd al-Raqqī (T.Baghdād II 198 #627), but M. b. al-Ḥasan b. Masʿūd al-Anṣārī of Medinah, pupil of Mūsā b. ʿAbdAllāh al-ʿAlawī; T.Baghdād II 185-6 #601.

58. Son of the Ḥasanid ʿAlid, ʿAbdAllāh *al-Maḥḍ* (d.145/762), he was imprisoned twice by the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Manṣūr for involvement in the revolt of his brother al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah, then later released by al-Mahdī (rg. 158/775-169/785). See Jarḥ VIII 150 #678; Kāmil VI 2345; T.Baghdād XIII 25-7 #6986; Ibn Ḥajar, Lisān VI 144 #8662; R.Ṭūsī 307 #429 (associate of al-Ṣādiq), & 361 #35?; Tanqīh III 257 #12260.

59. [*Sic*] unknown; perhaps son of the Kufan ʿUqbah\ʿUtbah b. Shaddād b. Umayyah (Tahdhīb VII 241-2 #437, al-ʿUqaylī: *munkar al-ḥadīth*); or a Basran, Saʿīd b. ʿUqbah al-Hudādī, Jarḥ IV 53 #233.

60. *Khaṭṭ* here connotes 'prescription' by which God maps out & determines the future course of everything.

61. Or "*la-unqiṣannaka* I shall certainly diminish*reduce thee...".

62. In his polemics against his Qadarī opponents written ca. 75 AH, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah (d.99/717) attacked their view that man possesses a power or capacity to increase or decrease what was provided him by God (eg. *rizq, ajal, & ʿaql*). He upheld the predestinarian position that both guidance/*al-hudā* and error/*al-ḍalāl* are from God, and argued that disbelievers were incapable of 'hearing*understanding' the truth by divine determination, for God had created them deficient in *ʿaql*. See van Ess, Anfänge, text of *al-Radd ʿalā l-Qadariyyah* 17 §12 lines 1-15, & 29 §30 (exegesis of Q *al-Anfāl* 8:21-22 ...*al-ṣummu l-bukmu lladhīna lā yaʿqilūna*); & analysis by van Ess on 52-3, 55. Compare the basic Qadarī stance of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī in his letter to Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān; text in Ritter, "Studien zur Geschichte der islamischen Frommigkeit, I. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī", Der Islam XXI/1933/69-71, 76, 78, & 82.

63. Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, ʿIlal al-Ḥadīth [Cairo 1343-4] II 435 #2809. For Ibn Abī Jamīlah, see Jarḥ VII 224 #1239 (*ʿan Nāfiʿ, ʿan-hu Baqiyyah, majhūl*), & Mīzān III 503 #7328. Any connection with the Basran Qadarī Shīʿī and pupil of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, ʿAwf Ibn Abī Jamīlah al-Aʿrābī (d.146/763, see Theologie II 55-6) ?

Chapter 3

ʿAQL AS 'FIRST CREATION'

Readers familiar with Islamic thought who are attentively following this excavation into early Muslim tradition may well entertain strong misgivings about the process of 'enrichment of meaning' being depicted. They will have noted that we rarely employ the term 'intellect'. We experienced the same doubts over these results, but were forced by the nature and weight of the evidence to the picture drawn here.

§I. PRIORITY OF CREATION ?

Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī (d.430/1038-9) provides in his Ḥilyat VII 318 (=the final report in section pp.270-318 on Sufyān b. ʿUyaynah), a composite *ḥadīth* of tripartite *matn*, whose first part consists of an early form of the *Aqbil!* report (eg. ch.1 #1 & #14). The whole piece claims to derive from the Meccan tradent Abū Bakr ʿAbdAllāh b. al-Zubayr al-Asadī al-Ḥumaydī[1] (d.219/834), as a report from the Prophet's wife ʿĀ'ishah. Abū Nuʿaym heard it from his teacher Abū Bakr ʿAbdAllāh b. Yaḥyā b. Muʿāwiyah al-Ṭalḥī, who further specified that al-Dāraquṭnī notified him about it (*afādanīhi*). In the *isnād*, al-Dāraquṭnī (?) supplies the date 289/902, the year it was narrated by :

#18) ISNĀD Abū l-Faḍl Sahl b. al-Marzubān b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī al-Fārisī[2] } al-Ḥ·maydī } Sufyān b. ʻUyaynah[3] (107/725 - 198/814) } Manṣūr[4] (b. al-Mu'tamir d.132/750) } Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī[5] (d.124/742) } the Medinan Successor ʻUrwah b. al-Zubayr (d.92/711...101/720) } ʻĀ'ishah (d.58/678):

"The Messenger of God Ṣ related to me/*ḥaddathanī* :

> *"inna awwala mā khalaqa llāhu l-ʻaqlu, fa-qāla aqbil! fa-aqbala, thumma qāla adbir! fa-adbara, thumma qāla mā khalaqtu shay'an aḥsana min-ka, bi-ka ākhudhu wa bi-ka uʻṭī.*
>
> The first thing God created is\was *al-ʻaql*. Then He said, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He said, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then He said, "I created nothing better than thee. By means of thee I receive, and by means of thee I grant."
>
> [The text continues: "*thumma qāla rasūlu llāhi Ṣ...*", giving two separate statements by the Prophet urging humility, obedience, and *zuhd* in material things, without further mention of *ʻaql*.]

When the particle *inna* after *ḥaddathanī* is removed, it reveals the first sentence to be: "*Awwalu*/The first thing God created [or: The first of God's creation] is\was *al-ʻaqlu*". One then expects after this nominal proposition a pause in the flow of meaning, before the following verbal "*fa-qāla aqbil!...*".[6]

The particle *fa-* is indeed present in the notoriously faulty printed edition of Ḥilyat, yet absent in al-Suyūṭī's

quotation of this text (La'ālī I 130). Short of examining the manuscripts of Ḥilyat, little can help us in deciding whether its presence is merely a commonplace instance of minor textual disturbance passed down over centuries, or an accurate reflection of what Abū Nuʻaym (or al-Dāraquṭnī, or al-Ḥumaydī...) intended to write. Here, we are reminded of the linguistic critique made by Ibn Taymiyyah (the question of the *naṣb* of *awwalu & al-ʻaqlu,* below §III). The only considerations of real help in properly construing the meaning of the first sentence are first, the critical comments appended by Abū Nuʻaym at the end of the entire report; and secondly, any supporting evidence from third century or earlier reports concerning the creation of *ʻaql.*

Abū Nuʻaym comments on this *ḥadīth* (Ḥilyat VII 318) :

> "It is *gharīb* 'solitary' [ie. it has only a single transmitter at the weakest point in its chain; and\or singular in both *isnād & matn*]. I know of no other transmitter for it on the authority of al-Ḥumaydī except Sahl, and in my opinion he misconstrued its real meaning\wording (*arāhu wāhiman fī-hi*)."

This judicious comment from an erudite savant of *ḥadīth* points to the person responsible for the report in this wording: "*awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-ʻaqlu*". We hazard that Abū Nuʻaym intended to convey something like: < This *ḥadīth* attributed to al-Ḥumaydī, which is the well known *ʻaql* report about "When God had created intelligence*wisdom", is

transmitted in this wording only by Sahl, who even if he indeed audited it from whom he claims, wrongly imagined that its meaning should be construed as "The first thing which God created is intelligence [? the Intellect]".> This appears to be the most likely thrust of Abū Nu'aym's remark.

Thus in the late 3rd/9th century, a certain Sahl b. al-Marzubān al-Fārisī interpreted the *Aqbil!* *ḥadīth* in terms of *'aql* = God's first creation, perhaps in a Neoplatonising vein. What of parallel or complementary evidence from the third century or earlier that sheds light on *awwalu mā khalaqa* or *lammā khalaqa*? There are several.

§I A. ṢŪFĪS, PHILOSOPHERS, & MU'TAZILAH

i. AL-MUḤĀSIBĪ

The seminal Baghdadi Ṣūfī master al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī[7] (d.243/857), whose psycho-ethical teaching stressed examination of conscience expressed in intellectually sophisticated language sensitive to theological implications, quoted only the "*lammā khalaqa*" version of our report. In several other places in his writings al-Muḥāsibī refers to *'aql* in terms so evocative of the ***Aqbil!*** report, both conceptually and linguistically, that it is difficult to escape the conclusion he was directly alluding to this famous tradition.[8] Neither in his monograph devoted to *'aql*, Mā'iyyat al-'Aql wa Ḥaqīqat Ma'nāh, nor in his other writings can he be said to uphold a Neoplatonising

doctrine of *ʿaql* as first creation in terms of an 'Ideal' principle at the root of the cosmos.[9] The most relevant materials for comprehending al-Muḥāsibī's emphasis on *ʿaql* appears to be the stream of Basran ascetic*mystic traditions stretching back to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī in which ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd and Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar participated.[10]

ii. AL-KINDĪ

Almost at the same time and place, the first significant Muslim *faylasūf*/philosopher Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq al-Kindī[11] (d. shortly after 256/870?), who absorbed Neoplatonic and Aristotelian teachings into his eclectic system while remaining close to the theological concerns of certain early Muʿtazilah thinkers, taught that a transcendent being communicated actual thought directly to the human intellect, ie. that actual human thought requires an 'actual intellect' as its cause. He wrote in his epistle Fī l-ʿAql[12] about

> "the First Intellect that is the specificality[13] of things *al-ʿAql al-Awwal alladhī huwa nawʿiyyatu l-ashyā'*".

This primary noetic Intellect, which is always in actuality (*bi-l-fiʿli abadan*), "supplies" (*mufīd*) what the human soul "acquires" (*mustafīd*), and the product is: "intellect acquired (*mustafād*) by the (human) soul from the first intellect (*al-ʿaql al-awwal*)".[14] Thought was thus depicted

as acquired from the transcendent intellect, just as with Plotinus. Al-Kindī equated the 'ONE' ("*al-Wāḥid al-Ḥaqq al-Awwal*"), who created the First Intellect, with the Qur'ānic Deity.[15] Here we finally meet a "Neoplatonic element",[16] but not in the form of *ḥadīth*.

Nowhere in his extant writings[17] does al-Kindī invoke as a precedent in support of his philosophical doctrines the well known *Aqbil!* report. While this only reflects the irrelevance of *ḥadīth* for the philosopher, one may argue that if the "*awwalu mā khalaqa*" version indeed circulated during the first half of the third century, then al-Kindī could have been tempted to invoke it as confirmation of his perceived harmony between Greek and Islamic teaching. Later Muslim hellenizing thinkers were made to do precisely this by their followers in order to anchor Greek concepts onto an Islamic base (eg. Miskawayh d.421/1930, and Ibn Sīnā d.428/1037).[18]

iii. MUʿTAZILAH

During the lifetimes of both al-Muḥāsibī and al-Kindī, a circle of radical Muʿtazilah in Baghdad who were renegade pupils from the circle of the Basran theologian Ibrāhīm b. Sayyār al-Naẓẓām[19] (d.221/836), employed esoteric *ta'wīl* of the Qur'ān and of *ḥadīth*, including the *Aqbil!* report, in support of their extravagant doctrines embracing both metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*, transmigration from animal to

human bodies & *vice versa*)[20] as well as an exaggerated glorification of Christ as *ʿAql* ('intellect*spirit'). Aḥmad b. Khābiṭ\Ḥābiṭ (executed under the Caliph al-Wāthiq rg. 227/842 - 232/847) and his colleague Faḍl al-Ḥadathī[21] shocked and scandalized their Basran-Baghdadi peers who had studied under al-Naẓẓām, by advocating dualist teachings. Though their doctrine of *tanāsukh*[22] owed something to al-Naẓẓām's concept of *rūḥ*,[23] both Ibn Khābiṭ and Faḍl appear to have been infected with extremist Shīʿī notions (*ghuluww*) about *karrah*[24] (bodily reincarnation for punishment), and of the 'Two Gods'[25] (a God in Heaven, & a 'god' on earth = the Imām), involving *rubūbiyyah* 'godmanship'. They blended all this with Christian and Manichaean or Dayṣānī[26] teachings, perhaps even Ṣūfī ideas (Theologie III 435-6), into their unique compost.

ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī (d.429/1037), treats of Ibn Khābiṭ and Faḍl al-Ḥadathī in his Farq in conjunction with upholders of *tanāsukh* among the Qadariyyah and the Shīʿī *ghulāt*, probably for good reason. Ibn Khābiṭ and Faḍl taught that "*al-Masīḥ ibnu llāhi* Christ is the son of God" by adoption, that Adam was created by Christ in Christ's image, who is a 'pure-intelligence' or 'spirit'[27] within a corporeal body (Farq 277). They held that this Christ-spirit was the demiurge who created the material world.[28]

Among the *ḥadīths* they cited as proof texts for this idea was a form of our report :[29]

> #19) *Inna llāha Ta'ālā khalaqa l-'aqla, fa-qāla la-hu, aqbil!...* Truly, God created *al-'aql*. Then He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. Then He said, "I did not create a 'being' more esteemed than thee/*khalqan akrama min-ka*. By means of thee I grant, and by means of thee I receive." [cf. ch.1 #1 & #14]

The two are then quoted as saying: "The Messiah put on a body/*tadarra'u jasadan*, and before putting on (a body) he was (pure) *'aql* 'intelligence*spirit'" (Farq 277).

This form of the report is close to early versions. Although "*awwalu mā khalaqa*" is not present, the idea of *'aql* = Christ*Word or Spirit*Pure-Thought, is so omnipresent that one cannot escape the conclusion: here *'aql* = First Created being, by whom all other beings are created. But this is not the *'aql* of the reports examined above (ch.1 - *'aql* as the inborn human 'intelligence*understanding' forming the basis of ethical action), nor is it al-Kindī's neoplotinian *al-'Aql al-Awwal*. So many currents have jelled together here that separating the various strands only destroys the object being dissected. Yet the non-Arab, non-Islamic components (Christian dualist christology + *ghālī* gnosticism) outweigh anything we have become familiar with till now. At best the *'aql* of Ibn Khābiṭ and Faḍl may be

said to be a partial 'Neoplatonic element' (see Theologie II 170 n.31, III 437).

Al-Shahrastānī (d.548/1153) followed al-Baghdādī closely in his description of the doctrines of Ibn Khābiṭ and Faḍl (Milal I 92). When reproducing this *ḥadīth*, al-Shahrastānī unconsciously makes one crucial change, a very natural one considering his deep acquaintance with philosophical teachings, and in view of the almost explicit meaning of Ibn Khābiṭ's exploitation of this report. He quotes it in the form: "*awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-ʿaqlu*", setting up his citation by mentioning the First Intellect/*al-ʿAql al-Awwal*, which is "*awwal mubdaʿ* the First Originated-Being", or "*al-ʿaql al-faʿʿāl* the Agent Intellect". This is intended to prepare his reader for the *ʿaql* report and to help in comprehending Ibn Khābiṭ's equation of Christ = pure intelligence. All these terms are al-Shahrastānī's gloss.[30] In a similar vein, when discussing the equivalence between God's *ʿilm* with His essence established by the early Basran Muʿtazilī Abū l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf[31] (d. ca. 227/841), al-Shahrastānī dresses it in more philosophically systematic language: he likened it to the philosophical notion that God is pure intellect.[32]

The doctrines of these Muʿtazili *zindīqs* repelled their contemporaries, and they were shunned by the rest of al-Naẓẓām's school, serving as whipping boys for opponents of

the Muʻtazilah. Whatever the reaction of their peers, their radical exploitation of the *Aqbil!* report must have further propelled it towards its final form. If Ibn Khābiṭ and Faḍl did indeed construe this report in Neoplatonic terms, this might make its absence from al-Kindī and his school more to be remarked. However, the notion of the Christ-*ʻaql* (+ of the Imām-*ʻaql* ?) should perhaps be comprehended sapientially (see ch.4, pre-creation Wisdom).

Still within the third century the Ṣūfī al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (ch.1 #3, #5.b, & #8) only knows this *ḥadīth* in its "*lammā khalaqa*" versions.[33] Since the older edition of his Nawādir al-Uṣūl [Istanbul 1293/1876; rp. Beirut n.d.] is said to be an abbreviation one-third the length of the original,[34] he may have employed other versions. He could well be alluding to this report in his work on sainthood :[35]

> "*wa mā l-ʻaqlu l-akbaru lladhī qasama\qassama l-ʻuqūla min-hu li-jamīʻi khalqih* What is the 'omni-*ʻaql*' [the all-inclusive or most-great intelligence] of which (God) distributed*portioned the [individual measures of] intelligences to all His creatures?"[36]

His expression "*al-ʻaql al-akbar*" should not be equated with a Kindian Neoplatonism.[37] The word *al-akbar* may also be construed as 'most eminent' or 'greatest level'. This expression refers to the divinely created glorified *ʻaql* which is apportioned among humans in varying 'measures',[38]

thus endowing them with their individual aptitude or 'scope-of-perceptivity*understanding' enabling each individual to grasp a greater or lesser measure of truth. Saints are provided with the fullest measure of such *ʿaql*. Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī also employed the phrase "*al-ʿaql al-awwal*"[39] which is depicted as impervious to Satanic depredations. (And see below ch.6 §I #27 : *ʿaql* as "*nūr ʿala nūr*" created out of God's light.) This glance at al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's important treatment of *ʿaql* does not pretend to be adequate.

§II. FIRST CREATION : *ʿAQL, RŪḤ, NŪR MUḤAMMAD*

In the century following al-Muḥāsibī and al-Kindī, Shīʿī *ḥadīth* evidences an increasing employment of the form "*awwalu mā khalaqa*" in the *Aqbil!* report. Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Kūfī[40] (d.352/962 near Shiraz) quotes it in his al-Ādāb wa Makārim al-Akhlāq [Cairo, *Dār al-Kutub* MS #21474b, f 64v lines 6-8], without *isnād* on the Prophet :

> #20) *Awwalu lammā [sic] khalaqa llāhu l-ʿaqlu, fa-qāla la-hu aqbil! ... bi-ka ākhudhu wa bi-ka uʿṭī, wa bi-ka uthību wa bi-ka uʿāqibu.*

This appears closest to ch.1 report #4. The reading "*awwalu lammā khalaqa*" may be merely a copyist's slip of the pen for "*awwalu mā khalaqa* The first thing God created\The first of God's creation...";[41] unless Abū l-Qāsim intended to mediate between earlier and later forms of the 'setting', or unless we misconstrue his meaning. The evidence of this text is

not clear. In the 4th/10th century Shīʿī author Ibn Shuʿbah al-Ḥarrānī's version of the 'Century of *al-ʿAql*' (in Tuḥaf 19-25 > Biḥār I 117-9)[42], a version of the *Aqbil!* piece occurs, yet with an inconclusive form of the 'setting'.[43]

An unambiguous instance of 'first creation' occurs in a long composite report presented as a wisdom testament (*waṣiyyah*) of the Prophet to ʿAlī, which enjoyed some popularity among Imāmī traditionists during the second third of the fourth century AH. The piece is clearly a mosaic of earlier *ḥikam* and *aqwāl* stringing together ethico-religious counsels, including *ʿaql* sayings. The *waṣāyā* genre of "Muḥammad to ʿAlī" was a fertile arena for wisdom constructions of this type. It occurs in two works by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī[44] (d.381/991-2), who was active in the Shīʿī centres of Kufah, Baghdad, Rayy and Central Asia. Ibn Bābawayh transmits it simultaneously from two informants, Ḥammād b. ʿUmar and Anas b. Muḥammad,[45] both via: Anas' father } al-Ṣādiq } his family *isnād* } ʿAlī } *marfūʿ* :

> #21) "*Yā ʿAlī: inna awwala khalqin khalaqahu llāhu ʿAzza wa Jalla l-ʿaqlu, fa-qāla la-hu aqbil! fa-aqbala ... bi-ka ākhudhu wa bi-ka uʿṭī, wa bi-ka uthību wa bi-ka uʿāqibu.*"

Apart from its unique 'setting', this version is almost identical with that of Abū l-Qāsim al-Kūfī (#20). Since

they both date from the same era, we may adduce this form, "*awwalu khalqin khalaqahu llāhu...l-ʿaqlu* The first creation that God created is *al-ʿaql*", in support of our understanding of Abū l-Qāsim's text.

Abū Nuʿaym's report from Sahl b. al-Marzubān of the late third century (#16) apparently marks the appearance of the "*awwalu mā khalaqa*" form in Sunnī transmission. Considering the limited quantity of extant and published materials, this may not be saying much.[46] At some point around or before the mid-fourth century, Twelver Shīʿī traditionists had accommodated the "*awwalu mā khalaqa*" form of our report.[47] This was facilitated by their having ready at hand a wide spectrum of traditions relayed on the authority of their imams over the preceding two centuries depicting the primordial pre-existence of the Light-bodies of the Prophet & ʿAlī and the Imāms (*ashbāḥ nūr, arwāḥ nūr, ajsād nūrāniyyah*).[48] Among the manifold dimensions of this rich material we may mention the notion of the primal 'substance*matter' or 'spiritual clay' (*ṭīnah*),[49] and a Throne cosmological setting.[50] Such materials assisted various Islamic currents in assimilating differing notions into *Nūr Muḥammad* 'Muḥammadan Light' at the root of the cosmos in a metaphysic of light.[51]

The key to understanding the meaning and intent of circles employing the *Aqbil!* report in its "*awwalu mā khalaqa*" version must lie in the speculative and religious currents

during the third and early fourth centuries. This era witnessed the apogee of the Mu'tazilī schools of Basrah and Baghdad, the spread of Islamic Hellenistic sciences (the philosopher Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī[52] d.339/950 in Damascus), the elaboration of Ismā'īlī cosmological systems, the Epistles of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*,[53] the consolidation of Twelver school dogma with Mu'tazilī elements, and the spread of Ṣūfī exponents. This takes us far away from our primary focus.

Beyond the factors prompting the shift from *lammā* to *awwalu* suggested above (eg. the Pen as "*awwalu mā khalaqa*"), it may well be that the chief impulse lay in the conjunction of Islamic religious and metaphysical ideas enunciated by Ismā'īlī thinkers or groups like the Ikhwān. There were few or only incipient Neoplatonic ingredients in Ismā'īlī thought before the turn of the 3rd\4th century, while the preceding 'mythologising' system was distinctly gnostic.[54] By the time al-Ghazālī (d.505/1111) wrote his Iḥyā' (I 83: "*awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-'aqlu...*"; + its *ṭaraf* in III 4),[55] the shift in the 'setting' of the report had become so widespread that very few differentiated it from "*lammā khalaqa llāhu l-'aqla*". This is reflected in the fact that later critics treated the report in chapters covering the 'beginning of creation' (eg. Ibn al-Jawzī). Yet its original nexus with the *akhlāq* and *adab* was never entirely covered over; thus its listing in Kanz al-'Ummāl III *kitāb*

al-akhlāq 220 #1930 & #1931, and the constant placing of an introductory *bāb al-ʿaql* in ethical works of 'religious' *adab*. The unconventional jurist of Damascus & Cairo Ibn Taymiyyah (d.728/1328) was a notable exception.

§III. IBN TAYMIYYAH'S CRITIQUE

His critique is detailed and heated, a reflection of the important role long assigned to *ʿaql* among the Muʿtazilah, the Ismāʿīliyyah, and especially the Falāsifah, whom Ibn Taymiyyah despised above all others as rank heretics. In his zeal to combat what he saw to be an insiduous conspiracy against Islam (first Jewish & Magian, now Greek and *Bāṭinī*) he equated Ṣūfī speculations, Shīʿī metaphysics, and Hellenistic philosophy as faces of the same enemy.[56] He singled out the *ʿaql* reports as prime examples of this conspiracy, pinpointing the *Aqbil!* report as particularly subversive.[57]

His criticism falls into three main parts. First: that all competent Traditionist critics agreed that the "*awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu*" report is a forgery and a 'lie' (*kadhib mawḍūʿ*) which no self-respecting *muḥaddith* would transmit. He asserts it was forged by 'peripatetic' philosophers, and they were followed in turn by esoteric Shīʿīs (*Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, Ismāʿīlīs), Ṣūfīs (Ibn al-ʿArabī & Ibn Sabʿīn), and rationalist theologians.[58] They twisted its wording by refusing to read the key terms with *naṣb*, since it should be

construed as depicting the beginning of God's creation of *ʻaql*, not that *ʻaql* is the first creation.[59]

Secondly, the 'weak' form transmitted as "*lammā khalaqa llāhu*" indicates that other creations existed before *ʻaql*, for it states: "I created no creature more precious to Me than thee". Thus *ʻaql* cannot be the philosophical 'First Intellect' prior to whom nothing was created. Here he may have been inspired by al-Ghazālī's theological alignment of *ʻaql* & *ʻilm*.[60]

And thirdly, the functions of *ʻaql* given in the 'listing' ("*bi-ka ākhudhu...*") point to *ʻaql* being an 'accident' — not 'self-subsistant' in itself as an essential substance (*jawharun qā'imun bi-nafsih*) like the philosophical Intellect.[61] (Again, Ibn Taymiyyah may have followed al-Ghazālī, who posed the same question when rebutting the *falāsifah*.[62]) He argues that the common-sense meaning of *ʻaql* in Arabic is a *gharīzah*, or a knowledge/*ʻilm*, or an acting-on-knowledge. Also, the faculties predicated of *ʻaql* in the 'listing' are human qualities (*hādhā yuqālu fī ʻaqli banī Ādam*). His final sarcastic rhetorical barb is that the Prophet addressed people in Arabic, not in Greek.

Not having seen his Bughyat, the following remarks are provisional. Ibn Taymiyyah's first criticism presupposes the validity of the *Ḥadīth* guild's *isnād* critique. His point about *naṣb* is plainly linguistic equivocation for

(⊗ See Addendum C.)

polemical purposes.[63] Yet his assigning of responsibility for the "*awwalu*" version may not be totally unfounded, although it grossly simplifies a complex process. Recall that philosophers like al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā were made to repeat this report in apocryphal works (above n.18). Yet the early *ḥadīth* critics never assigned it to philosophers, but to second century Qadarīs or Shī'īs, and they always had in mind the "*lammā khalaqa*" form. The second and third points are only relevant if one accepts that the "*awwalu*" form is the original one, which is clearly not the case.

Ibn Taymiyyah seems to imply that the "*lammā*" version has more validity (recall al-Suyūṭī's judgement on report #1: *mursal* but not *mawḍū'*). His obsession with refuting "*al-mutafalsifatu l-bāṭiniyyah*" prevents him from stating whether the "*lammā*" report might be acceptable as 'weak'; rather he invokes the authoritative consensus that all *'aql ḥadīth* are forged (invoking al-Dāraquṭnī, Ibn Ḥibbān, & Ibn al-Jawzī). Even here he gives with one hand what he takes away with the other, by adducing arguments against the rationalists based on the wording of the *lammā* form itself. In another work, Ibn Taymiyyah even supplies what he labels as the 'correct' (*al-ṣaḥīḥ*) version from a certain "Abū Bakr al-Shibāl\Shabbāl", which gives a unique form of the 'testing' involving *'aql*'s attestation of *tawḥīd* and God endowing him with light ("...*fa-kaḥḥalahu bi-nūri l-waḥdāniyyah*").[64]

His remarks on the linguistic meanings of *'aql* tend to confirm what we have come to know in the course of this study.

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Ibn Taymiyyah's treatment of the *Aqbil!* report(s) has remained influential among Sunnī Muslims until today.[65] Goldziher may well have been prompted by this long Sunnī tradition of distrust towards 'foreign' Hellenistic inspiration imputed to this *'aql* report, when he placed the "*awwalu*" version prior to the "*lammā*" form. He did so within a context of a German scholarly tradition greatly influenced by classicism and neo-Hegelianism, and which inclined to various syncretistic hypotheses marked by an over-emphasis on Hellenisation in explaining the higher development of Semitic religions.[66] During the first two centuries of Islam *'aql* was generally understood as a God created thing (*makhlūq*), an inborn trait divinely instilled in varying measures (*maqsūm*), and the chief glory of man (*zīnah*). This is not to deny that the way had already been prepared for viewing *al-'aql* as 'first-born' Wisdom in a Throne-creation setting from a very early era.

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NOTES

1. Known for his long association with Sufyān b. ʿUyaynah (Abū Ḥātim: *ra'īs aṣḥāb Ibn ʿUyaynah*), his Musnad [ed. Ḥ.R. al-Aʿẓamī, Beirut & Cairo 1380-2] is one of the earliest works of that genre; Jarḥ V 56-7 #264; Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ghaniy Ibn Nuqṭah, al-Taqyīd li-Maʿrifat al-Ruwāt wa l-Sunan wa l-Masānīd [Hyderabad 1983-4] II 41-3 #373; Tahdhīb V 215-6 #372.

2. Seemingly not the Iṣfahānī-Naysābūrī *adīb* and poet Abū Naṣr Sahl b. al-Marzubān mentioned by al-Ṣafadī, al-Wāfī bi-l-Wafayāt [ed. W. al-Qāḍī, Beirut & Wiesbaden 1982] XVI 21-2 #24. Might he be the teacher of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, "Abū Naṣr b. Sahl" (Radtke, Al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmiḏī, Ein islamischer Theosoph des 3./9/ Jahrunderts [Freiburg 1980] 20 #29) ?

3. A long lived Kufan with wide contacts who moved to Mecca, deemed by the *rijāl* critic Aḥmad b. ʿAbdAllāh al-ʿIjlī (d.261/875) as *min ḥukamā' aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*. Ibn ʿUyaynah was considered to have played a major role in passing down materials from key Ḥijāzīs and from his teachers Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī & ʿAmr b. Dīnār; R.Najāshī I 426 #504 (*la-hu nuskhatun ʿan Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad a.s.*); Tahdhīb IV 117-22 #205; Tanqīh II 39-40 #4959; & Tradition index *s.v.*

4. A Kufan Batrī Zaydī who served as an informant for Ibn ʿUyaynah (see Tahdhīb X 313), unlike the Wāsiṭī ascetic Manṣūr b. Zādhān (d.128...131). An *ʿābid* and 'weeper' with wide contacts, he was deemed among the more trustworthy Kufan tradents despite his Shīʿī inclinations and involvment

in ʻAlid revolts. He held Murji'ī and predestinarian views, being an associate of Saʻīd b. Jubayr, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, & al-Aʻmash; Jarḥ VIII 177-9 #778; Ḥuffāẓ I 142f. #135; Ṣifat III 61-3; Tahdhīb X 312-5 #546; R.Ṭūsī 137 #48 & 312 #530; Tanqīh III 250 #12177; Zwischen 43, 188.

5. Yet Ibn ʻUyaynah was said to also report directly from al-Zuhrī (Tahdhīb IV 118); yet cf. Ibn Maʻīn, Maʻrifat al-Rijāl I 121 #592; & Tradition 41 n.150, 156.

6. As with the predestinarian version collected by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Rūdānī (d.1094/1683), Jamʻ al-Fawā'id min Jāmiʻ al-Uṣūl wa Majmaʻ al-Zawā'id [Cyprus & Cairo n.d.] II 680 #6\9174, on the authority of Ibn Masʻūd } marfūʻ: "*awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu al-ʻaqlu, fa-qāla la-hu aqbil! fa-aqbala, wa adbir! fa-adbara, fa-qāla, mā khalaqtu khalqan aḥabba ilayya min-ka, wa lā urakkibuka illā fī aḥabbi l-khalqi ilayya*". This is taken from al-Tajrīd fī l-Jamʻ bayn al-Ṣiḥāḥ al-Sitta of the Andalusian-Meccan tradent Abū l-Ḥasan Razīn b. Muʻāwiyah al-ʻAbdarī al-Saraqusṭī (d.524/1129 or 535/1140). Razīn's Tajrīd al-Ṣiḥāḥ was a source for Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr's Jāmiʻ al-Uṣūl; see M. Fierro, "Razīn b. Muʻāwiyah", E.I.[2] VIII 479a-80a.

Compare the opening of the report in Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Makārim al-Akhlāq 69-70 #275, a *qawl* of ʻAbdAllāh b. ʻAmr b. al-ʻĀṣ (d. 65/684): "*awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu ʻazza wa jalla min al-insāni farjuhu, thumma qāla: hādhihi amānatī ʻindaka fa-lā tadaʻhā illā fī ḥaqqihā...*".

7. L. Massignon, Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane [2nd ed., Paris 1954] 120f., 242-54; M. Smith, An Early Mystic of Baghdad; J. van Ess, Die Gedankenwelt des Ḥārit al-Muḥāsibī [Bonn 1961]; ʻAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, Ustādh al-Sā'irīn, al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-

Muḥāsibī [Cairo 1973]; & R. Arnaldez, E.I.[2] VII 466b-7b.

8. See eg. al-Qaṣd wa l-Rujūʿ ilā llāh, ed. Quwwatlī [Malta 1988] 135; Fahm al-Qur'ān 264, 312; & (?) Kitāb al-Khalwah, in al-Mashriq (1955) 451.

9. Van Ess, Gedankenwelt 67-78; al-Muḥāsibī, al-ʿAql & Fahm al-Qur'ān, ed. Ḥusayn al-Quwwatlī [Beirut 1971, 2nd ed. 1978] text 201-38, & intr. 114-91. Van Ess points out the nexus of ideas al-Muḥāsibī brings to bear in his treatment of *ʿaql* (*nūr, rūḥ, ḥujjah, gharīzah*sajiyyah*), his emphasis on *fahm* as opposed to the Muʿtazilī conception of *maʿrifah* as human capacity, while also noting the echo of Hellenistic conceptions filtered through Christian teachings. He also suggests that Mā'iyyat is perhaps an early work of al-Muḥāsibī forged out of engagements with Muʿtazilah thought (Abū l-Hudhayl? *vide* the notion of *gharīzah*); Gedankenwelt 67 & 72.

10. Smith, An Early Mystic 66-74; van Ess, Gedankenwelt 24-8, 73-4, 142-3, & 188-9. Van Ess remarks (74): "However one comes to maintain an opinion over his originality, his *ʿaql*-theory is, in its cautious approach to Muʿtazilī ideas, unparalleled in the theology of the *ahl al-ḥadīth*...". The same may hold for his mentor-colleague Aḥmad b. ʿĀṣim al-Anṭākī. Of course, second century Muʿtazilī thinkers like Abū l-Hudhayl did not have a monopoly on the notions of *ʿaql* as *gharīzah* or *ḥujjah*.

11. J. Jolivet & R. Rashad, E.I.[2] V 122-3, giving 252/866 as his death date.

12. Ed. J. Jolivet, L'Intellect Selon Kindī [Leiden

1971] text 159 > trans. 3. See Jolivet's discussion of the Risālah 6-30, on 17-20 & 22-5; and 107-16 for the links with Mu'tazilī thought. Cf. Aristotle, Metaphysics Λ §1072b: the First Cause of the universe is called "Intellect-Intelligence" and "Life".

13. The translation "specificality of things" is taken from A. Altmann & S. M. Stern, Isaac Israeli, a neoplatonic philosopher of the early tenth century [Oxford 1958] 35 line 2, & 36 line 35 (see 37 n.1, & cf. 83-4); which term Isaac derived from al-Kindī (see 37-40). The Jewish Egyptian physician-sage Isḥāq b. Sulaymān al-Isrā'īlī (d. before 344/955-6) incorporated al-Kindī's account of intellect into a Neoplatonic emanationist hierarchy of Creator < Intellect < Soul < Nature.

14. H.A. Davidson, Alfarabi, Avicenna, and Averroes, on Intellect [New York & Oxford 1992] 15-16, who observes that what al-Kindī means by "first intellect *al-'aql al-awwal*" is the 'cause' of "all intelligible thoughts and secondary intellects" — not that the active intellect is identical with the cosmic First Cause. Rather al-Kindī uses the term *al-'aql al-awwal* "for the intellect that is the second hypostasis in the Neoplatonic herarchy" (16), ie. the Neoplatonic cosmic Intellect. Among the considerations in support of this, Davidson invokes the Jewish philosopher Isaac Israeli's employment (Altmann & Stern, Isaac Israeli 35-8, 46-7), and the fact that in Islamic popular Neoplatonism both the terms 'first intellect' and 'active intellect' were used for the cosmic intellect of the Neoplatonic hierarchy, eg. in Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Safā' [Beirut 1957] III 386.

15. Jolivet, L'Intellect Selon Kindī 106-9.

16. R. M. Frank, "The Neoplatonism of Ǧahm ibn Ṣafwān", Le Muséon LXXVIII/1965/395-424, suggested that Jahm's thought represents "the first clearly defined attempt to adapt an identifiable Greek philosophical system to an islamic theology" (396), in particular his use of the term *shay'* in the technical sense of 'being', and in identifying God's act of Knowing and His Power with the Plotinian *Nous* and World Soul (406-13). Since Jahm was executed in Khurāsān in 128/746, he would have preceded by a century "the formal introduction of neoplatonism into Islam" of The Theology of Aristotle writing and al-Kindī (396).

However, W. Madelung cautions that the issue of Jahm's views concerning God's *ʿilm* is problematic due to his ideas being viewed through the lens of later *kalām* developments, and "the idea of divine attributes subsisting outside of God as spiritual beings is indeed so foreign to...early Islamic thought in general", that Frank's hypothesis is a projection; "The Shiite and Kharijite Contribution to Pre-Ashʿarite *Kalām*", in Islamic Philosophical Theology, ed. P. Morewedge [Albany 1979] 120-39, on 134-5 n.45. Further, al-Shahrastānī\Gimaret, Religions 293 n.8.

17. Ed. M. Abū Rīdah, Rasā'il al-Kindī al-Falsafiyyah [Cairo 1950]. Also see Michel Allard, "L'Épître de Kindī sur les Définitions", BEO XXV/1972/47-83, text 57 "*al-ʿaql = jawharun basīṭun mudrikun li-l-ashyā'i bi-ḥaqā'iqihā*" > trans. Jolivet, L'Intellect 24 "substance simple qui percoit les choses dans leur vérité". For further discussion of *ʿaql* in early Islamic philosophy, see Jamīl Ṣalība , "*Maʿānī l-ʿaql fī l-falsafati l-ʿarabiyyah*", Majallat al-Majmaʿ al-Lughat al-ʿArabiyyah bi-Dimashq XXIX/1954/496-511, on 498f.

18. Yet we saw that Miskawayh quoted only the "*lammā khalaqa*" form in his Fī l-ʿAql wa l-Maʿqūl (above ch.1

n.103). For Ibn Sīnā's alleged use of it, see the text published by A.F. al-Ahwānī, al-Risālah fī Ma'rifat al-Nafs al-Nāṭiqah wa Aḥwālihā [Cairo 1952] 181-92, on 189 > trans. J.R. Michot, "L'Épître sur la connaissance de l'âme rationelle et de ses états, attribuée à Avicenne", Revue Philosophique de Louvain LXXXII/1984/479-99, on 492 ("*awwalu mā khalaqa*", otherwise basically an early form). Michot (480-1) deems the work as written over a century after Ibn Sīnā, perhaps by a later commentator of Ibn al-'Arabī. ④

Compare the curious work of pseudo-al-Fārābī, Maqālat al-Rafī'ah fī Uṣūl 'Ilm al-Ṭabī'ah, ed. Aydin Sayili, TTKB LVII/1951/on 105-6 (*Aqbil!*), & 114-6 (*Nūr Muḥammad*). If it is indeed from al-Fārābī, it finds him in Ismā'īlī mode.

19. Van Ess, E.I.[2] VII 1057a-8b; idem, E.Ir. I 275-80; & Theologie III 296f. A vigorous defender of Islam in debates with Christians, Jews, Dualists, and Materialists/*Dahriyyah*, he was keenly interested in the epistemological and scientific ground of theology (thus his disputations with the Shī'ī thinker Hishām b. al-Ḥakam). Van Ess observes that his interest in Hellenistic ideas was unusual among the *mutakallimīn*.

20. For early Muslim ideas of bodily transformation into animals as punishment for sin, see the articles by Ch. Pellat, "Maskh", E.I.[2] VI 736b-8b; & "Ḥayawān", E.I.[2] III, on 305b-6a; R. Freitag, Seelenwanderung in der islamischen Häresie [Berlin 1985] *passim*; & Theologie III 428-30. On Muslim refutations of *tanāsukh*: G. Monnot, "La Transmigration et l'Immortalité", Islam et Religions [Paris 1986] XII 279-95. The issue of whether animals suffer reward and punishment in the afterlife was a serious topic of discussion among Muslim thinkers, who were alive to its implications for moral responsibility/*taklīf* and freedom. Al-

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④ However, Ibn Sīnā may possibly be referring to the *Aqbil!* report in his Risālah fī Sirr al-Qadar, where he alludes to the "hadīthu l-thawāb wa l-'iqāb"; see G.F. Hourani, "Ibn Sīnā's 'Essay on the Secret of Destiny'", BSOAS XXIX/1966/28.

Nazzām held that animals could earn reward in Paradise (ie. were subject to *taklīf*); van Ess, E.Ir. I 279b.

For the importance of this theme for early Shīʿī views about *rajʿah & karrah* (bodily return, 'recurrence'), see E. Kohlberg, "Radjʿa", E.I.[2] VIII 371b-3b; & our "The Death of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and early Shīʿī views on the Imāmate", Alserāt [al-Ṣirāṭ] XII/1986/71-116, on 88f., 94-101; & Theologie III 433 n.37, 435 n.51.

21. The available information on them, and their colleague-pupil Aḥmad b. Ayyūb b. Mānūs, was summarized by Charles Pellat, "Deux Curieux Muʿtazilites: Aḥmad b. Ḥābiṭ et Faḍl al-Ḥadathī", Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph L/1984/483-94; & van Ess, E.Ir. I 280a; E.I.[2] I 280; al-Shahrastānī\Gimaret, Religions 223 n.11; and now esp. Theologie III 430-44. Note that Faḍl al-Ḥadathī probably came from a village on the Euphrates, al-Ḥadīthah, one of the centers of radical Shīʿī experience.

22. Al-Baghdādī, al-Farq bayna l-Firaq, ed. M.M.-D. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd [Cairo 1964] 228, 273-5, 277-8.

23. For al-Naẓẓām, the *rūḥ* 'soul' as a 'body' entirely permeating the corporeal person is identical with 'man', & the 'mixture' of all one's senses, being the subject of *taklīf*; see the erudite discussion in Theologie III 369-74. The Muʿtazilah generally understood *taklīf* 'moral responsibility' as a natural obligation incumbent on every mature adult (*bāligh al-ʿaql*) apart from revelation, since the moral imperative to pursue good \ shun evil is seen to be part of human innate (*ḍarūrī*) knowledge. The modality of *taklīf* was at the heart of the thought of Ibn Khābiṭ and Faḍl al-Ḥadathī.

24. In al-Baghdādī's description of Ibn Khābiṭ's ideas occurs the notion of *karrah* (Farq 275: "*al-rūḥ lā yazālu fī hādhihi l-dunyā yatakarraru fī qawāliba wa ṣuwar mukhtalifah*"); and of Ibn Mānūs, who however differed with Ibn Khābiṭ by rejecting *taklīf* for animals (ibid. 276: *thumma karrarahum fī l-ashkhāṣ wa l-qawālib*). However Pellat considers their notion of *kurūr* 'incarnation in animals', as due neither to Indian or Pythagorean influence, but their own innovation; art. cit. 493. Van Ess points to proto-Ismāʻīlī or Jābirian parallels; Theologie III 433 n.37. The idea also had a Jewish (Manichaean?) input in early Islam: see al-Fārisī, Bad' al-Khalq 276-9 (a seven year ordeal of *maskh* endured by Bukht Naṣar in animal forms > Daniel 4); & our "Death of al-Ḥusayn" 99.

25. Al-Baghdādī, Farq 277: "*zaʻama anna li-l-khalqi rabbayni wa khāliqayni aḥaduhumā qadīmun wa huwa llāhu Subḥānahu, wa l-ākhar makhlūqun wa huwa ʻĪsā b. Maryam.*" The Qur'ānic proof texts they invoked were the same used by the early Saba'iyyah or *ghulāt al-Kaysāniyyah* of Kufah in the first century, who held that imam ʻAlī would 'return' in a theophany riding the clouds; ibid. 277 (Q 2:210 & 89:22); & Theologie III 434 n.48.

The Kufan and Basran partisans of the Kufan Shīʻī gnostic Abū Manṣūr al-ʻIjlī (executed 120/738...126/744) swore oaths "By the Word! *a-la wa l-Kalimah!*", since Abū Manṣūr taught that the first being created by God was Jesus and the next ʻAlī, with the rest of mankind being composed of light and darkness; al-Shahrastānī, Milal I 377-9 = Gimaret, Religions I 519-21, refs. 519 n.80 & n.83; Ibn Taymiyyah, Minhāj al-Sunnah I 238; W. Madelung, E.I.² VI 441b-2a. Abū Manṣūr's son al-Ḥusayn led a wing of the sect till his execution under Caliph al-Mahdī (rg. 158/775 - 169/785). Further on 2nd century Shīʻī-*ghālī* notions deifying Muḥammad & ʻAlī: E. Kohlberg, "Muḥammadiyya", E.I.² VII 459a-61a; & S. Wasser-

strom, "Mughīra b. Saʿīd's Islamic Gnosis and the myths of its Rejection", History of Religions XXV/1985/1-29, on 17-8, 20 (ʿAlī as cosmic demiurge).

26. On the role of the Manichaeans, the Dayṣāniyyah, and *Zindīqs* in the second century, see the overview by van Ess, Theologie I 416-56. In the cosmology of Bardayṣān, after the assault by Darkness rising up, the Lord sent His 'Word' (=*logos* or Christ) to separate Darkness from the pure beings, driving it back into the abyss and undoing their previous mingling; the 'Word' then made this world; P.O. Skjærvø, "Bardesanes", E.Ir. III 782a, & 784a: "in Bardesanes' system it is the Word of Thought (Logos, Christ) sent by God that creates the visible world". Further H.J.W. Drijvers, Bardaisan of Edessa [Assen 1966] 98-105.

27. Pellat renders *ʿaql* as "esprit", sensitive to the incarnationist dimensions of Christ's embodiment, which may well be appropriate from the vantage of al-Naẓẓām's teaching on *rūḥ*; art. cit. 487. Compare van Ess, Gedankenwelt 70 (*per* Massignon), & Theologie III 437-40, for the equation of light & *ʿaql* with *rūḥ* in the thought of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam and of Abū l-Hudhayl, and the possible connection with Dayṣānī ideas.

28. Al-Khayyāṭ, Kitāb al-Intiṣār, trans. A. Nader [Beirut 1957] text 107 #98: "*anna l-Masīḥa huwa lladhī khalaqa l-ʿālam wa huwa rabbu l-awwalīna wa l-ākharīn*"; & al-Baghdādī, Farq 277.

29. Farq 277. Mentioned by: van Ess, Gedankenwelt 76; Zwischen 122; al-Shahrastānī\Gimaret, Religions I 226 & n.30; Pellat, art. cit. 487; Theologie III 437.

30. As Gimaret notes: "Le tour philosophique néoplatonicien donné ici à leurs conceptions...est très probablement de l'invention de Shahrastānī"; Religions I 225-6 n.28; & see Theologie III 438 n.77. Al-Shahrastānī seems to be giving either an Avicennian or Ismā'īlian tint to Ibn Khābiṭ's ideas.

31. Van Ess, E.Ir. I 318-22; more of an atomist in viewing created beings as ultimately corporeal than his nephew al-Naẓẓām; the two agreed on the Mu'tazilī basics of the natural knowledge of God & the innate perception of good and evil involving *taklīf*.

32. From his Nihāyat al-Aqdām fī 'Ilm al-Kalām, ed. A. Guillaume [Oxford 1934] 180; cited by Gimaret, Religions I 191 n.10.

33. See also B. Radtke, Al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmiḏī 68, pointing to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's citation of the *Aqbil!* report in his al-Akyās wa l-Mughtarrīn > Ṭabā'i' al-Nufūs, ed. al-Sā'iḥ, 24.

34. Al-Kattānī, Risālah al-Mustaṭrafah 57; see GAS I 653-9, on 655 #9. Nawādir represents his most extensive and detailed treatment of *ḥadīth* and *aqwāl*. We have seen only a few pages of the new edition by Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā [Beirut 1992-].

35. Ed. by B. Radtke as Sīrat al-Awliyā', in his Drei Schriften des Theosophen von Tirmid [Beirut & Stuttgart 1992] I, text 22 §40 line 15; cf. Radtke, Al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmiḏī 68, where *al-'aql al-akbar* is rendered "allVernunft". And ed. by O. Yaḥyā as Khatm al-Awliyā'

[Beirut 1965] 196: "*wa mā l-ʿaqlu l-akbaru lladhī qusimat min-hu l-ʿuqūlu li-jamīʿi khalqih?*" Also see Radtke's introd. to Drei Schriften I 15 #43 > appendix, 56 #39, the extracts from the Andalusian Ṣūfī Ibn al-ʿArabī's commentary on al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's Awliyā' work entitled al-Ajwibah wa l-As'ilah, as well as from Ibn al-ʿArabī's al-Futuḥāt al-Makkiyyah [Cairo 1329, rpr. Beirut 1968] II 66, where "*al-ʿaql al-akthar*" also appears (?).

36. See Khatm al-Awliyā', ed. Yaḥyā, on 196-8, quoting relevant remarks by Ibn al-ʿArabī's Ajwibah (or al-Jawāb al-Mustaqīm) concerning our *ḥadīth* : "*...fa-innī ʿalā yaqīnin min ʿilmi l-qismah wa kayfiyyatihā, mā anā ʿalā ʿilmin min ṣiḥḥati l-khabar min ḥaythu naqlu l-lafẓ khāṣṣatan*". For Ibn al-ʿArabī's appropriation of "*ʿilm al-qismah*" see Futuḥāt II 66-7, his treatment of *taqsīm al-ʿuqūl, tafāwut al-ʿuqūl\tafāḍul al-nās fī l-ʿuqūl*, and Light with *al-ʿaql al-awwal* (67 "*fa-innahu awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-ʿaqlu*") in terms of varying aptitudes or degrees of apprehension according to the preparedness for receptivity of Light & purity of heart, and where God's *rūḥ* (= *al-ʿaql al-akbar*) is the source of the individual *al-ʿaql al-gharīzī*. Further, see the comments by W.C. Chittick with respect to these passages (Futuḥāt II 63f.) and to chapter 14 of Ibn al-ʿArabī's Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam, dealing with the "mystery of the measuring out/*qadar*"; Faith and Practice of Islam [Albany 1992] 213-4. One may discern a continuous unfolding of enrichment from earlier *ʿaql* reports (eg. below ch.4 #22 & #23) through al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, feeding into Ibn al-ʿArabī's grand synthesis.

37. Further occurrences of "*al-ʿaql al-akbar*" in Sīrat al-Awliyā', text 34 §48 lines 2, & 7 (quoting the famous *ḥadīth qudsī*: "*mā taqarraba ilayya ʿabdī...fu'ādahu lladhī*

bi-hi ya'qilu"): the saint is beloved of God so that he perceives by means of God, "*<...biy a ya'qilu>, fa-hādhā 'abdun qad khamada\khumida 'aqluhu li-l-'aqli l-akbar*", ie. the saint's *'aql* becomes allayed\subsides into the 'omni-*'aql*'. In this manner, the saint becomes susceptible to revelatory disclosures (=*muḥaddath*); see the less explicit treatment of the same *ḥadīth* in al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Adab al-Nafs 42-6, eg. on 44: "*basaṭa la-hu l-nūr wa madda la-hu fī l-asbāb wa alhamahu wa fahhamahu wa sayyarahu min uli l-albāb fa-in naṭaqa naṭaqa bi-ḥikmatin...*"; further idem, Nawādir al-Uṣūl 239.

38. Above n.36 for the *'ilm al-qismah*. See al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Ma'rifat al-Asrār, ed. al-Juyūshī, 38: "*wa l-'aqlu ajzā'uhu min 'adadi l-ramli wa l-tharā, yu'ṭī llāhu li-jamī'ihim 'alā qadri marātibihim, fa-man kāna min Allāhi aqraba kāna ḥaẓẓuhu min al-'aqli awfara.*" The chief saint or *imām al-awliyā' (= al-majdhūb)* is depicted as endowed with an extra-ordinary measure of *'aql* ("*'aẓīmu l-ḥaẓẓi min al-'aql*"); Sīrat al-Awliyā' 104 §133 line 7. These notions apparently draw upon the materials adduced below, ch.4 reports #22 & #23.

39. In his al-'Aql wa l-Hawā, ed. Furat, 120; and ed. W.A. 'AbdAllāh (in the same ed. of al-A'ḍā' wa l-Nafs) 185. 'AbdAllāh links the expression "*al-'aql al-awwal*" with the "*awwalu mā khalaqa*" form of the *Aqbil!* report; ibid. 185 n.1. Compare the comments by Sāmī Naṣr Luṭf in the introd. to his edition of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's 'Ilm al-Awliyā' [Alexandria 1983] 77-81.

40. GAL SI 320; GAS I 492-3 & 543; L. Giffen, E.Ir. I 364; at first an Imāmī Shī'ī, then adopting extremist *Mukhammisah* views, this erudite scholar of philosophy, theology

and law wrote works in rebuttal of the Ismāʿīliyyah, Zaydiyyah, Muʿtazilah, and Aristotle; including a Kitāb Mīzān al-ʿAql (R.Najāshī II #689, on 97). This title seemingly evokes that of a work ascribed to the legendary Shīʿī gnosticizing alchemist (sometimes linked to the Mukhammisah) Jābir b. Ḥayyān [Latin *Geber*], Maydān al-ʿAql; see Paul Kraus, Mukhtār Rasā'il Jābir b. Ḥayyān [Paris & Cairo 1935] 214f.

41. But if one takes into account Abū l-Qāsim's opposition to metaphysical Ismāʿīlī and Arabic Aristotelian teachings with their speculations on *al-ʿAql al-Awwal*, it may be argued that the reading "*awwala*" with *naṣb* is preferable. Note that his Ādāb work is replete with Greek gnomologic wisdom as well as Arab-Muslim *ḥikmah*.

42. This is a wisdom discourse modelled partly on the Christian literary genre of one hundred sayings or topics. The piece in Tuḥaf is cast in the form of the *masā'il* 'Questions & Answers' of a Christian holy man Shamʿūn to the Prophet concerning the cultivation of moral traits and the perfection of virtue, giving one hundred *khiṣāl* for *al-ʿaql*.

This 'Century' was also integrated into another piece ascribed to Wahb b. Munabbih (quoting "Jewish" sages) portraying the creation of Adam's psychic body and giving a physico-affective theory of harmonious development based on Galenic humoral pathology, probably indebted to the Gnostic work Apocryphon of John, as well as the mystico-medical writings of the Eastern Fathers (eg. the 5th century CE John the Solitary, *Jōḥannān Īḥīdāyā*). For Wahb's piece, see: Ibn Bābawayh, ʿIlal, *bāb 96*, 110-3 #9; and Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' I 300-2 (9th *risālah, faṣl fī khalq Ādam*); & partially in Ibn Abd Rabbih, ʿIqd al-Farīd VII 221-2. We have prepared a detailed translation and analysis of this inter-

esting text of Islamic Wisdom, which provides an important parallel to al-Ṣādiq's myth of the Seventy-Five Powers of *ʿAql & Jahl* (ch.5).

43. Tuḥaf 19 > Biḥār I 117: "*inna llāha khalaqa al-ʿaqla*... Verily, God created *al-ʿaql*". Its 'listing' contains an element perhaps suggestive of Ismāʿīlī ideas: "*bi-ka abda'u\ubda'u wa bi-ka uʿīdu\aʿūdu [sic], wa la-ka l-thawāb wa ʿalyaka l-ʿiqāb* With thee I begin, and I restore [back to life] on thy account..." (cf. Q 34:49). See al-Majlisī's comments, Biḥār I 124: God restores creatures for judgement and for reward & punishment (= *taklīf*). Most likely, this form of the 'listing' is a later transformation of the widely attested "*bi-ka ākhudhu wa bi-ka uʿṭī*".

44. Man Lā Yaḥduruhu l-Faqīh [Najaf 1957] IV 254-71 (the closing report, a moralizing capstone to the whole work), on 267; and in his Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ [Beirut 1992] 16-36, on 31. The same piece was extracted by Abū Naṣr al-Ḥasan b. al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī (fl. mid 6th/12th century), Makārim al-Akhlāq [Tehran 1376], on 516 for this report.

45. This Anas and his father are unknown outside of this single *riwāyah*; Tanqīh I 155 #1073. The same is true of Ḥammād. Obviously with such an untenable *isnād*, Ibn Bābawayh expects lenient indulgence from the critical reader, on account of the ethically uplifting content of the piece.

46. Al-Maqdisī, Bad' [written 355/966] I 147, in discussing differing accounts of 'first creation' such as Throne, Light & Darkness..., comments: "*wa ruwīnā khilāfa dhālika kullihi ʿan al-Ḥasan (al-Baṣrī) annahu qāla: awwalu mā khalaqa min shay'in al-ʿaqlu*". This only demonstrates

that shortly before al-Maqdisi's era, the "*lammā khalaqa*" form was circulating in the guise of "*awwalu*" among Sunnī circles. Yet we saw that al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī apparently does not know the "*awwalu*" form.

47. Other Imāmī versions, reworkings, or expansions of the *Aqbil!* report shall be examined in chs. 5 & 6. They fall into the period between the mid-2nd to mid-4th centuries. Later elaborations of this report are well worth studying; eg. Biḥār I 97 #8 (from Ghawālī l-La'ālī); or Raḍī al-Dīn Rajab b. Muḥammad al-Bursī (d. ca. 843/1411), Mashāriq Anwār al-Yaqīn fī (Kashf) Asrār Amīr al-Mu'minīn [Beirut 1379/1959-60, repr. 1978] 30: "*awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-ʿaqlu, wa hiya l-ḥaḍratu l-Muḥammadiyyah, min qawlihi: "awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu nūrī"*." Further, ch. 5 n. 85.

48. Eg. Uṣūl I 440-2 #s 3-10; eg. 442 #10, al-Bāqir: "*inna llāha awwala mā khalaqa, khalaqa Muḥammadan Ṣ wa ʿitratahu l-hudāta l-muhtadīn...*", created as 'light-phantoms'/*ashbāḥ nūr* comforted by the Holy Spirit/*Rūḥ al-Qudus*, and referred to as *ḥulamā' ʿulamā'*. Or Ibn Bābawayh, ʿIlal, *bāb* 7, 5-6 #1, al-Riḍā...Prophet: "*mā khalaqa llāhu khalqan afḍala minnī wa lā akrama ʿalayhi minnī..., li-anna awwala mā khalaqa llāhu ʿazza wa jalla khalaqa arwāḥanā...*"; & ibid. *bāb 385*, 593-8 #44, al-Riḍā...ʿAlī: when asked about *awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu?*, replies *khalaqa l-nūr*. Further: Goldziher, ZA XXII 324-30; U. Rubin, "Nūr Muḥammad"; & Amir-Moezzi, Guide Divin 73-112.

Al-Maqdisī comments (Bad' wa l-Ta'rīkh I 150): "*samiʿtu baʿḍa l-shīʿah yazʿumūna anna awwala mā khalaqa llāhu nūru Muḥammadin wa ʿAliyyin, wa yarwūna fī-hi riwāyatan wa llāhu aʿlamu bi-ḥaqqihā.*"

49. Eg. al-Barqī, Maḥāsin, *kitāb al-ṣafwah wa l-nūr wa*

l-raḥmah, 131-8 chs. 1-8; al-Ṣaffār, Baṣā'ir 34-9, 466; Uṣūl II 2-10. For the context, see H.A. Wolfson, "Arabic and Hebrew Terms for Matter and Element with especial reference to Saadia", Jewish Quarterly Review XXXVIII/1947/47-61; G. Vajda, "Sa'adya Commentateur du 'Livre de la Création'", École Pratique des Hautes Études, sciences religieuses, 1959-60 [Paris 1960] 315f., repr. in Saadiah Gaon, ed. S.T. Katz [New York 1980]; and cf. Theologie I 397-403 (Jewish gnosis & Stoic elements).

50. Eg. Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī, Amālī II 155-6 (the creation of *'aql* from primordial light, trans. below ch.6 §II #28); & see Amir-Moezzi, Guide Divin 79-80. The Shī'ah did not have a monopoly on such material, as like reports were circulated among the group of Damascene Murji'īs met with in ch.2 §II. Thus Ibn al-Jawzī, Mawḍū'āt I 291, ... } Muḥammad b. 'AbdAllāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Ushnānī [Mīzān III 604, Lisān V 228] } Hishām b. 'Ammār al-Sulamī (d.245/859) } Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ } ...: Gabriel delivers God's message to Muḥammad, "*...wa kasawtu ḥusna wajhika min nūr 'arshī, wa mā khalaqtu khalqan aḥsana min-ka yā Muḥammad.*" Or the Kufan reports where Adam, upon God's inspiring the *rūḥ* into him, views the name of '*Muḥammad*' inscribed on the Throne ("*akramu l-khalqi 'alā llāhi*"); eg. Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, al-Ishrāf fī Manāzil al-Ashrāf 29-30 #23 & #24.

51. Goldziher, ZA XXII 329-41; L. Massignon, "Nūr Muḥammadi", SEI 452; T.J. de Boer, "Nūr", SEI 451-2; G. Böwering, The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam [Berlin 1980] 149, 157, 217; U. Rubin, "Nūr Muḥammad"; Ibn Wathīmah al-Fārisī, Bad' al-Khalq 341-4; Ibn Hishām, Sīrat I 164-6; & eg. 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah [Bulāq 1320] I 8 & 147.

52. R. Walzer, E.I.² II 778b-81a. He went beyond al-Kindī in his emanationist cosmic hierarchy, see his Risālah fī l-ʿAql; R. Walzer, Al-Fārābī on the Perfect State [Oxford 1985]; & Davidson, Alfarabi, Avicenna, and Averroes, on Intellect 44-73. Al-Fārābī's formation took place at the hands of the Baghdad school of Christian Aristotelianism, and Walzer characterizes his intellectual roots "to lie in a pre-Plotinian platonizing tradition" (E.I.² II 780a).

53. S. Diwald connects the Ikhwān's employment of *ʿaql* with Greek *noús* as well as spirit, reason\ration, & intelligence, in the context of the Neoplatonic and Neopythagorean tradition of an emanational cosmic hierarchy; Arabische Philosophie und Wissenschaft [Wiesbaden 1975] 45, 53 (*ʿaql = jawhar rūḥāniy*), 63-4, 138 (*al-ʿaql al-kullī*); see Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' III ch.41, 185f.

54. W. Madelung depicts it as "an entirely fresh, essentially Islamic and Shīʿī adaptation of various widespread gnostic motives"; see "Shiism - Ismāʿīliyyah", Encyclopedia of Religion [New York 1987] XIII 249. Bear in mind that during the late 2nd to mid-3rd century, *bāṭinī* Shīʿī groupings, among them the future Ismāʿīliyyah, shared many notions in common. For orientation see the bibliographies in: B. Radtke, "Bāṭen", E.Ir. III 859-61b; H. Halm. "Bāṭenīya", E.Ir. III 861b-63; & references in E. Kohlberg, "Muḥammadiyya", E.I.² VII 460b-61a.

55. Al-Ghazālī drew for *ʿaql* reports in his *kitāb al-ʿilm* of the Iḥyā', upon the Musnad of the Wāsiṭī-Baghdādī tradent al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad Ibn Abī Usāmah al-Tamīmī (186/802 - 282/895), and upon al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī. Another indication that by the late 5th/11th century the ineluctable shift from *lammā* to *awwalu mā khalaqa* was complete is the

form quoted by the Shāfiʿī al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī (d.502/1108-9), al-Dharīʿah ilā Makārim al-Sharīʿah, ed. Abū l-Yazīd al-ʿAjamī [Cairo 1985] 167: "*awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu Taʿālā l-ʿaqlu...*" (otherwise close to an early version); ✝ and see al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab III 230.

Al-Ghazālī drew heavily upon al-Rāghib's ethical work Dharīʿah in his Mīzān al-ʿAmal [Cairo 1328] (see 139 for *Aqbil!*), and in the *k. al-ʿilm* of Iḥyā'. Al-Rāghib was a precursor for al-Ghazālī's synthesis of philosophical ethics and traditional religious scholarship; his Dharīʿah is an original adaptation of Greek ethics as found in al-Fārābī, Miskawayh, and the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, married to the Qur'ānic ethic; see E.K. Rowson, "al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī", E.I.² VIII 389b-90b; & H. Daiber, "Saʿāda", E.I.² VIII on 659a.

56. Yet Ibn Taymiyyah was not anti-Ṣūfī as such; see Th.E. Homerin, "Ibn Taymiyya's al-Ṣūfiyah wa l-Fuqarā'", Arabica XXXII/1985/219-44.

57. In his [not seen] Bughyat al-Murtād fī l-Radd ʿalā l-Mutafalsifah wa l-Qarāmitah wa l-Bāṭiniyyah [Cairo 1329; & GAL SII 123 #83] on 1-52, he dwelt at length on this report, summarily repeating his main points in many other works: al-Radd ʿalā l-Manṭiqiyyīn [Lahore 1976] 275-6; Minhāj al-Sunnat al-Nabawiyyah IV 147; Majmūʿ Fatāwā Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyyah XVIII 122-3 & 336-8; Tafsīr Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ ed. Ṭāhā Y. Shahīn [Cairo n.d.] 81; al-Furqān bayna Awliyā' al-Raḥmān wa Awliyā' al-Shayṭān [Cairo 1981] 72-3. Further, see A. Hartmann, Der Islam LXII/1985/ 95 n.48, 96 n.51. He issued his *fatwah* in response to the query: 1) is the report *ṣaḥīḥ* on a valid *isnād*?, & 2) what is its correct wording (*hal hādhā l-lafẓ huwa lafẓu l-ḥadīth, aw fī-hi taḥrīf aw ziyādah aw naqṣ?*); Majmūʿ Fatāwā XVIII 336.

✝ and in his Tafsīl al-Nash'atayn [Cairo 1961] 8;

58. *"Lākin al-mutafalsifah al-qā'ilīna bi-qidami l-'ālam atbā' Aristū, hum wa man salaka sabīlahum min bātiniyyati l-shī'ah wa l-mutaṣawwifah wa l-mutakallimah, rawahu "awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-'aqlu" bi-l-ḍammi, li-yakūna dhālika hujjatan li-madhhabihim fī anna awwala l-mubda'āti huwa l-'Aqlu l-Awwal; wa hādhā l-lafẓ lam yarwihi bi-hi aḥadun min ahli l-ḥadīth"*; Majmū' Fatāwā XVIII 337. One must grant Ibn Taymiyyah this last point.

59. Their 'forgery' would thus consist of voicing two vowels differently! That is why all the 'correct' wordings of the *"awwalu"* report which Ibn Taymiyyah repeats in various places lack the crucial particle *fā'* (or *thumma*) after the initial temporal clause, requiring one to read it thus: *"awwala mā khalaqa llāhu l-'aqla _qāla la-hu aqbil!* At the moment that God created *al-'aql* He said..." [+ see eg. al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat III 230]. Can we trust Ibn Taymiyyah to have impartially recorded the correct *lafẓ*, despite all the evidence from much earlier sources to the contrary? His argument about the pretended *naṣb* of the first word is rather flimsy and tendentious, but is complicated by the frequent appearance of *inna & anna* preceding *awwalu\a*.

60. Iḥyā' III 4: *"...inna l-'ilma 'araḍun lā yutaṣawwaru an yakūna awwala makhlūqin bal lā budda wa an yakūna l-maḥallu makhlūqan qablahu aw ma'ahu."* The Mu'tazilah and then the Ash'arite school took *'aql* lexically as a noun (*ism* or *ṣifah*) rather than an infinitive (*maṣdar*), in the sense of the 'knowledge' achieved by man at the basis of moral responsibility (*"ismun li-'ulūm idhā ḥaṣalat li-l-insāni ṣaḥḥa taklīfuh"*; al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat III 233); see al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, Mughnī XI 371-87.

61. *"Inna l-'aqla fī lughati l-muslimīna 'araḍun min al-*

(⌧ See Addendum C.)

a'rāḍ qā'imun bi-ghayrih wa huwa gharīzatun aw 'ilmun aw 'amalun bi-l-'ilm, laysa l-'aqlu fī lughatihim jawharan qā'iman bi-nafsih...", Majmū' Fatāwā XVIII 338. See Minhāj al-Sunnah IV 147 ("*wa l-'aql fī lughati l-muslimīna 'araḍun qā'imun bi-ghayrih*"); & Furqān 72. Recall al-Kindī's definition of *'aql* as "*jawharun basīṭun mudrikun li-l-ashyā'i bi-ḥaqā'iqihā*" (above n.17). Ibn Taymiyyah again exploits the older theological debate over whether the term *'aql* is a *jawhar* or lexically a noun/*ism*, rather than a *maṣdar*; see eg. the Shāfi'ī Manṣūr b. Muḥammad al-Sam'ānī (d.489/1096), Qawāṭi' al-Adillah fī l-Uṣūl, in Majallat Ma'had al-Makhṭūṭāt al-'Arabiyyah, new ser. Kuwayt, I (1402/1982) 249 [by kindness of Dr. Kevin Reinhart].

62. Iḥyā' I 83: "*fa-in qulta, fa-hādhā l-'aqlu in kāna 'araḍan fa-kayfa khuliqa qabla l-ajsām? wa in kāna jawharan fa-kayfa yakūnu jawharun qā'imun bi-nafsihi wa lā yataḥayyazu?*"

63. For other critical opinions on this point, see the remarks quoted by al-Hindī al-Fatanī, Tadhkirat al-Mawḍū'āt 28-9.

64. See his al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍa'īfah wa l-Bāṭilah, ed. Majdī Fatḥī al-Sayyid [Ṭanṭā 1984] 13-4. Who is this "Abū Bakr"? This version of the *Aqbil!* report belongs to a late 2nd - 3rd century esoteric trajectory known to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī; see ch.6 §I.B.c. #27.

65. Eg. his disciple Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, and with al-Dhahabī and Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī; see al-Munajjid, al-Islām wa l-'Aql 45-8. The contemporary Lebanese Shaykh Muḥammad 'Alī al-Jūzū follows Ibn Taymiyyah in basics, but with some refinements of nuance. See his Mafhūm al-'Aql 135-84, echo-

ing the mistrust of alien or 'foreign' Greek sources; & esp. 140-2 & 146-51, condemning *al-minhaj al-falsafī* to be "*taqdīs al-ʿaql*", while distinguishing the *Aqbil!* report & those by Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar from acceptable *ḥadīth* employing *ʿaql* in a 'proper' religious sense (149-53 "*al-ʿaql al-dīnī*", & "*fī tamjīdi l-ʿaql*").

Contemporary Twelver *Uṣūlī* criticism of Shīʿī *ḥadīth* remains open to this report; eg. in Muḥammad al-Bāqir al-Bihbūdī's selection Ṣaḥīḥ al-Kāfī [Beirut 1981] I 1-2: among the three reports from al-Kulaynī's *k. al-ʿaql* deemed valid is the report from al-Bāqir (ch.1 #11).

66. See eg. the remarks of H. Jaeger, "The Patristic Conception of Wisdom in the Light of Biblical and Rabbinical Research", Studia Patristica IV/1961/90-106, on 91-3.

Chapter 4

LIGHT AND AL-ʿAQL

The *Aqbil!* report was not the only class of narrative myth depicting the creation of *ʿaql* in early Islam. The following *ʿaql* reports expand upon a number of early motifs common during the late 1st - early 2nd centuries AH. Several interrelated themes concerning *ʿaql* mentioned previously may be seen to coalesce or melt together in fresh ways in vehiculing the concerns of particular circles. These reports are representative of the manner in which 'floating' elements become attached at new points, and display the creative use of literary conflation and composite materials in the construction of wisdom narratives. Yet they possess an internal consistency of their own. Moving away from the alleged Neoplatonic element towards the widely influential and deeply cultivated Biblicist and Iranian teachings about Wisdom's role in Creation as contributing factors or catalyst, these *ʿaql* narratives set the stage for apprehending al-Ṣādiq's exploitation of the *Aqbil!* report studied in Part II.

§I. THE THRONE AND ʿAQL

#22) Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar, Kitāb al-ʿAql (see ch.1 n.90). Text in: Maṭālib III 19-20 #2764 > Tanzīh I 219-20 #117. Extracts in: al-Tirmidhī, Nawādir al-Uṣūl 242 > al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā' I 88-89; & Goldziher, ZA XXII 319.

ISNĀD ... Anas b. Mālik[1] (d.91/710 ... 93/712) } ʿAbdAllāh b. Salām[2] (d.43/663) } the Prophet :

> Ibn Salām came to the Messenger of God Ṣ and said: "O Messenger of God, I want to question you about moral traits/*khiṣāl* that God did not disclose (to anyone) other than Moses son of ʿImrān. If you know them, then (you) are that one.[3] If not, then it is a thing God conferred upon Moses son of ʿImrān (and no one else)."
>
> So the Messenger of God Ṣ said:
>
> "O Ibn Salām, if you wish, ask me; or if you wish, I shall tell you." He said, "You tell me."
> Then the Messenger of God Ṣ said:
>
> " Truly, the near angels did not fully comprehend the creation of the Throne, nor do they have knowledge of it, nor do its Bearers who carry it. God Mighty and Majestic, when He had created the Heavens and the Earth/*lammā khalaqa l-samāwāti wa l-arḍ*, the angels said: "Our Lord, did you create a creation greater than the Heavens and the Earth?" (God) said: "Yes, the Seas." They said: "Did you create a creation greater than the Seas?" He said: "Yes, the Throne." They said: "Did you create a creation greater than the Throne?" He said: "Yes, *al-ʿaql*." They said: "Our Lord, what degree is attained by the 'measure' of *al-ʿaql* and the grandeur of its nature?"[4]

He said: "How far wrong you are! Knowledge of it cannot be fully comprehended! Do you have knowledge of the number (of grains) of sand?!"[5] They said: "No."

He said: "Truly I created *al-ʿaql* as diverse sorts/ *aṣnāfan shattā* like the number of grains of sand. Of that I give some people a single grain/*uʿṭī min dhālika ḥabbatan wāḥidatan*, and to some of them two or three or four grains. To some I give an (entire) sack/*farq*; and I give to some of them one camel's load/*wasq*, to some two loads, and to some more.[6] And then likewise (for another) up to what God wills of redoubling/*al-taḍʿīf*."

Ibn Salām said: "Who are those (who receive compounded measures), O Messenger of God?" He said: "Those who labor in accordance with obedience to God, (were given measures of *ʿaql*) in proportion to their deeds and their diligence and their certitude,[7] (and in proportion to) the light God placed in their hearts. Their 'custodian'/*qayyim* [or *qiyam* 'main-stay'] in all of that is *al-ʿaql*, which God provided them. Thus, in proportion to that [finite measure of *al-ʿaql* given them by God], the worker among them labors, and rises in degrees/*yartafiʿu fī l-darajāt*."

Then Ibn Salām said: "By Him Who sent you with the truth as a prophet! You did not diminish a single (word) from what I found in the Torah. Moses was the first to describe this quality/*ṣifat*, and you are the second." (The Prophet) said: "You speak truly, O Ibn Salām."

COMMENTS The inter-confessional polemic thrust of the frame story is obvious (the 'Question & Answer' genre). This tale adopted the well known motif of the Jewish convert

Ibn Salām attesting to the truth of Muḥammad's prophecy, in order to convey particular *ʿaql* motifs. *ʿAql* is greater than the primordial cosmic entities of Water or Throne. *ʿAql* has no limit like the number of grains of sand, and the scale of its material distribution is depicted. It is a *khaṣlah* as well as a light in the heart. Its allottment determines obedience and *yaqīn* 'certainty' in performance of deeds, enabling one to advance in degrees. Most significantly, there is a direct proportion between the efforts of the individual who receives understanding and the measure of understanding received. *ʿAql* is a person's 'custodian' in all of this.

The notion that *ʿaql* is a person's 'main-stay' or support (*qiwām*, & *diʿāmah*) is commonly met with in early wisdom sayings, such as one Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar related as a saying of the Meccan *mawlā* Ibn Jurayj (d.150/767) :[8]

> Man's 'main stay'[9] is his *ʿaql*.
> There is no 'faith'[10] for the one who has no *ʿaql*.
> *Qiwāmu l-mar'i ʿaqluh wa lā dīna li-man lā ʿaqla la-hu!*

One may also read *qawwām* 'keeper, custodian'. This latter meaning may be supported by a saying of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī describing the role of *ʿaql* as conscience :

> "The man of faith is his own keeper, he calls himself to account on behalf of God Mighty and Majestic.
> *al-mu'minu qawwāmun ʿalā nafsihi yuḥāsibu nafsahu li-llāhi ʿAzza wa Jalla.*"[11]

Dāwūd also provides a *ḥadīth* where the Prophet declares:[12]

> "For everything there is a 'support'/*di'āmah*, and the support of the man-of-faith is his *'aql*; thus his worship of his Lord is in proportion to his *'aql*...".[13]

What manner of support is clarified in a report from Sulaymān al-Sijzī's lost *'aql* book,[14] where *ma'rifat Allāh* 'cognizance of God' is singled out as the support of faith-religion, along with 'certainty' and *al-'aqlu l-nāfi'* 'the intelligence put to profitable use', further equated with obedience to God and desisting from disobedience.[15]

Al-Sijzī's Tafḍīl al-'Aql included a prophetic *ḥadīth*[16] ascribed to the pro-'Alid Kufan Zayd b. Wahb al-Juhanī (d.96/715), in which the second Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb questions the Companion 'AbdAllāh b. Mas'ūd (d.32-3/652-3) about a statement by the Prophet praising 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib ("...one man of my community, on account of one word of his glorification and his praise of God, his weight/*waznahu* weighs more heavily than anybody!"). Ibn Mas'ūd assures 'Umar that "among the faithful is he whose deed in a single day weighs more heavily than the Heavens and the Earth", and when pressed to explain, Ibn Mas'ūd states :

> "God apportioned things to his servants in proportion to what He wished/*inna llāha qasama l-ashyā' li-'ibādihi 'alā qadri mā aḥabba*. When He created *al-'aql*, He swore by His Might/*lammā khalaqa l-'aqla aqsama bi-'izzatihi* that (*al-'aql*) is the most

> cherished of His creatures to Him, and the dearest of them to Him, and the most excellent of them in His sight.[17] The weightiest of His servants in deed is the best in *ʿaql*; and the best of them in *al-ʿaql* is the one in whom are three moral traits/*thalāth khiṣāl*: sincere God-fearing reserve/*ṣidq al-waraʿ*, sincerity of certainty/*ṣidq al-yaqīn*, and sincerity of aspiration for righteousness and God-mindfulness/*ṣidq al-ḥirṣ ʿalā l-birr wa l-taqwā*."

A constant theme in the reports by Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar and Sulaymān al-Sijzī is that human deeds assume merit and worth only when performed by one possessed of sufficient *ʿaql*, while the same deeds performed by the ignorant-fool (*jāhil & aḥmaq*) are worthless.[18] The devotee who devotes himself to religious observances and willingly suffers in pursuance of obedience (*ṭāʿah*), without the necessary share (*qismah*) or portion of *ʿaql*, only deludes himself by expending his energy in futile hope of future reward. He is a 'stupid saint'. Noteworthy is the emphasis on the faithful person (*mu'min*) performing acts of obedience in God's service, who "labors in accordance with obedience to God *ʿamila bi-ṭāʿati llāhi*". This stress on moral reformation, repentent self-struggle and the interior ethical or spiritualizing virtues, was characteristic of the pietist ascetic circles, eg. around al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī[19], or in so-called 'quietist' Shīʿī circles around the Ḥusaynid ʿAlid Imāms.

#23) Sulaymān b. ʿĪsā al-Sijzī, <u>Kitāb Tafḍīl al-ʿAql</u>.

Text in: Tanzīh 222 #134.

ISNĀD ... Abū Umāmah al-Bāhalī } the Prophet :[20]

Inna llāha lammā khalaqa When God had created the Heavens and the Earth and the mountains and the tracts of sand and the Seas, He weighed them/*wazanahā* all together against *al-ʿaql*, and then *al-ʿaql* was weightier than (all of) them and more surpassing/*arjaḥa minhum wa afḍal*. Furthermore, when He created the *Jinn* and mankind, and the birds and the wild animals and beasts of prey and venomous reptiles and livestock, and the denizens of the Earth and of the Seas and all the beings God created in the abode of this world, He gauged (all of) them in relation to *al-ʿaql*, *qāsa dhālika bi-l-ʿaql*. Thus *al-ʿaql* was weightier than them (all) and more surpassing. Then He gauged the entirety of (all the above creations against *al-ʿaql*), as well as of all the angels in Heaven and what belongs to God of creatures and land, from the places of sunrise of the Earth to its sunsets, and so *al-ʿaql* outweighed them in their entirety. So the Lord said to *al-ʿaql*:

"By My Might! I did not create a creature more highly esteemed by Me than thee."[21] Then He said: "The most prized of My creatures in My sight, and the most excellent of them in My judgement, is the best of them in *ʿaql*; and the best of them in *ʿaql* is the best of them in deeds."[22]

COMMENTS Here it is not difficult to view *ʿaql* as pre-existing the creation of both the celestial and physical world and of all forms of created life in heaven and earth (mankind, *Jinn*, & Angels). The thrust of the report

involves the magnitude of *'aql*'s 'materiality', which outweighs the combined totality of all else. The image is of God weighing (*wazana*) or measuring (*qāsa* 'judged by comparision') the worth of *'aql* against all of His creation. In effect, *'aql* is greater than the sum of all the parts of creation. This fact prompts God's lavish encomium (oath & praise). The greater endowed with *'aql* a person is, the more surpassing they are, and the best among them are "the best of them in deeds". The direct connection of *faḍl al-'aql* with human deeds comprises the epitome of the report.

The implication is inescapable that this glorious *'aql* is indeed something primordial at the root of Creation (as in report #22: *'aql* greater than God's Throne). Yet the intimate connection with human intelligence in an ethical religious context is never out of sight. To comprehend *'aql* here in the context of Heavenly Wisdom[23] reflected within the human trait of 'intelligence*understanding', yields a more satisfactory and plausible meaning than the Neoplatonic 'First Intellect'. Yet this did not impede later Islamic mystics and theosophers from taking precisely that step.

§II. *BULŪGH* (MATURITY) AND *AL-'AQL*

The motifs of *'aql* as a 'light in the heart' sourced in the celestial realm and pre-existing before any individual human intelligence, are brought into connection with the well-known religious role *'aql* plays as a necessary condi-

tion for adult mental capacity, legal responsibility, and the reception of knowledge. *Bulūgh al-ʿaql* was an integral part of human moral responsibility, and seen as essential for the reality of God's justice. Views differed over whether this *ʿaql* requisite for *taklīf* was God-given, or 'natural' as with the Muʿtazilah.[24] This report depicts *ʿaql* as a drop of light cast into the human heart by the Angelic *ʿAql*.

#24) Ibn Bābawayh, ʿIlal, *bāb 86*, 98 #1 > Biḥār I 99 #14; & al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, al-Nawādir fī Jamʿ al-Aḥādīth 4.

ISNĀD Aḥmad b. Muḥammad[25] } Abū ʿAbdAllāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Asbāṭ[26] } Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Qaṭṭān[27] } Abū l-Ṭayyib Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdAllāh[28] } ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdAllāh[29] (al-ʿUmarī, d. late 2nd cent.) } his fathers[30] } ʿUmar b. ʿAlī[31] } ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [ʿAlī questioned the Prophet] :

> "From what did God/*mimmā khalaqa llāhu*, may His Splendour be exalted, create *al-ʿaql*?"
> (The Prophet said) :
>
> "God created (*al-ʿaql*) as an Angel/*khalaqahu malakan* having heads to the number of mankind/*bi ʿadadi l-khalāʾiq*, those who are created and those who shall be created till the Day of Resurrection. For every head there is a face, and for every human-being/*ādamī* there is a head from among the heads of *al-ʿaql*. The name of that human is written on the face of that head, and upon every face is a curtain draped, which veil is not

raised from that face until this newborn infant is born and attains the term of manhood or of womanhood.

Thus, when (a human) attains (the term of maturity), (God) throws open that curtain, and then a light drops into the heart of this human/*fa-yaqa'u fī qalbi hādhā l-insān nūrun*. Thereupon, he comprehends/*yafhamu* the religious duties and the *sunnah* [legal precedents established by the Prophet], and the (legally) approved and the disapproved/*al-jayyid wa l-radī'*.[32] Truly, the likeness of *al-'aql* in the heart is like the lamp (shining) in the middle of the house."

COMMENTS This report represents an 'Umarī-'Alid line of transmission (Iraqi-Medinan), distinct from that of the Ḥusaynid-'Alid preferred by Twelver tradents. R.Najāshī II 146, mentions that the Kufan-Baghdadi scholar Muḥammad b. Sālim\Salm Ibn al-Ji'ābī[33] (d.355/966) actually collected the reports of 'Īsā b. 'AbdAllāh al-'Umarī into written form. This report probably was included in Ibn al-Ji'ābī's Musnad 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (R.Najāshī II 320). Also transmitting like reports from 'Īsā al-'Umarī was the Kufan-Baghdadi Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Mūsā al-Qaṭṭān[34] (d.253/867). The report seemingly dates from the 2nd half of the second century in Kufah, and may be assigned to 'Īsā al-'Umarī, though his father or grandfather may well have handled an earlier form. Many Twelver reports ascribed to 'Alī circulating in Iraq from the 2nd-third of the second century, employ similar language and imagery.[35]

The Islamic motif of a multi-headed or many-faced angel ultimately derives from Jewish teachings.[36] Here the Angelic *ʿAql* is created by God as a heavenly analogue to the totality of human intelligences. Nothing is said about *ʿaql* as first creation, but as a spiritual or celestial reality preceding individual existence. A predestinarian outlook permeates this report, with the number of future human individuals already determined. This implies of course that there exists a pre-set amount of *ʿaql* in creation. The issue concerns the moment when human intelligence achieves the age of legal majority (*rushd, bulūgh al-ʿaql*), making an individual subject to *taklīf* and to knowledge of religious obligations (what to undertake & to avoid). An individual's mature *ʿaql* is precipitated by divine action: the unveiling of the angelic 'face' causes the light of the *ʿaql* to subsist in a person's heart (cf. the *ḥadīth: "al-ʿaqlu nūrun fī l-qalb..."*[37]), as if mirrored from the Angel-*ʿAql* above. Is this report aimed against particular Muʿtazilī notions of *bulūgh* as the basis for *taklīf* being 'natural' and not dependent on divine action? *ʿAql* burns in the body as a lamp illuminates a house.[38] Here is an explicit metaphor of *ʿaql* ('reason' or the adult understanding) as a divine endowment enabling comprehension/*fahm*. Nothing is said about inequities or variations in human intelligence.

§III. SUMMARY OF PART I

From these trajectories of development of the *Aqbil!* report and the deepening enrichments of meaning over three centuries of Islamic experience, one may begin to appreciate its intricate complexity. Almost from its inception in the first century, forces were at work pushing it towards its final form "*awwalu mā khalaqa*". This form in turn came to serve as food for thought in later speculative and spiritual teachings wherein *ʿaql* was comprehended in terms of *Nūr Muḥammad*, or as the Plotinian First Intellect, or in a cosmic metaphysic of *Lawḥ, Qalam, & Rūḥ*. These forces included: moderate Qadarī notions of *ʿaql* as the crux of human moral responsibility; esoteric Shīʿī notions of the pre-existent light spirits or 'bodies' of the Prophet and Imām in a throne creation setting; the predestinarian Murji'ī pairing of *qalam* over *ʿaql* in a first-creation setting; the demiurgic Spirit as 'pure-thought' or Word (*logos**Christ) of *ghālī* Muʿtazilis receptive to both Shīʿī and Christian gnosticism; and Islamic popular Neoplatonism including the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' and Ismāʿīlī metaphysics.

The (earlier) first and second century forms of this report "*lammā khalaqa llāhu*" experienced significant extensions of meaning in Kufah with the Shīʿah and in Basrah with the Qadariyyah, eliciting at the same time a predestinarian reaction both in the Ḥijāz and Iraq, and later in Damascus.

These Iraqi enrichments centered on the fundamental notion of *ʿaql* 'intelligence*reason' as an inborn trait of human constitution (cf. 'innate wisdom'), whose tonal centre wavered around the providential inequities in distribution of native intelligence, and *ʿaql* as recipient of divine address in the operation of moral responsibility tied to its function as God's *ḥujjah*, as well as the worth of human deeds in meriting reward or punishment or advancement in degrees. These themes constituted the raison d'être of most of the "*lammā khalaqa*" versions, and formed part of the legacy that third century Ṣūfīs received and built upon. It may be said without exaggeration that these notions express crucial insights of early Islamic teaching. The rejection by Sunnī Traditionists of this report obscured this fact. The idea that during the second century certain Qadarīs entertained the notion of *ʿaql* in terms of the Neoplatonic first emanation should be laid to rest. Hellenistic and Gnostic notions about *ʿaql* had a greater impact on al-Ṣādiq and certain Shīʿī currents.

The other major early motif related to the creation of *ʿaql* was the Heavenly or Angelic *ʿAql* of Light pre-existing the rest of creation in the realm of God's Throne. This glorified *ʿaql* ultimately owes something to Biblicist teachings about first-born Wisdom and its role in creation. It was intimately connected with the notion of God's gift of

ʿaql as the most eminent human moral trait (*khuluq, khaṣlah, gharīzah*) enabling man to attain knowledge of religion and practice of virtue. Undoubtedly in certain circles it was understood that the heavenly sapiential *ʿaql* and the *ʿaql* which God addressed and tested in the "*lammā khalaqa*" report were one and the same.

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The enrichments of meaning sparked by the *Aqbil!* report during the second century have not yet been exhausted. There remains the mode in which Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq handled it, aligning it with the conflict between Adam and Iblīs in the spiritual realm of God's Throne. His alignment of *ʿaql* with Throne Light, with the Adam creation myth, and with *maʿrifah* 'cognition', reverberated in significant ways among certain third century Ṣūfīs, in particular al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī.

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NOTES

1. The Prophet's valet who settled in Basrah; Tahdhīb I 376-9 #690; A.J. Wensinck & J. Robson, E.I.[2] I 482a; Tradition index *s.v.*

2. A Medinan Jewish convert and Companion, Q 46:10 is sometimes said to refer to him; al-Mizzī, Tahdhīb al-Kamāl XV 74-5 #3327; GAS I 304.

3. *Fa-huwa dhāka*, "that one (predicted to come)"; ie. the second Moses, the eschatological prophet foretold by Moses in Deuteronomy 18:18. Muslim tradition identified him with Muḥammad (cf. Q 7:157).

4. "*Wa mā balagha* ______ *min qadri l-ʿaqli wa ʿiẓami khalqih [khulqih?]?*" *Qadri l-ʿaql* may also be rendered: 'degree, rank, standing' of *al-ʿaql*.

5. For Solomon's understanding being "as wide as the sand on the seashore" (1 Kings 4:29), and the metaphoric use of 'grains of sand' as a trope for 'an untold number', see L. Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews index *s.v.* 'sand'.

This notion that *ʿaql* has no limit occurs in a saying reported by the Basran Qadarī Saʿīd Ibn Abī ʿArūbah (d. ca. 156/773), from the Kufan *faqīh* and leading pupil of Ibn ʿAbbās, Saʿīd b. Jubayr (executed 95/714):

> "To everything there is a limit and an utmost degree and an end/*ḥadd wa ghāyah wa muntahā*, yet *al-ʿaql* has no utmost degree to it, nor any limit or end. However, people surpass one another in their 'understand-

ings'/*yatafāḍalūna fī ʿuqūlihim*, and they differ between themselves in 'understanding' as much as the distance between the sky and the earth. For the Qur'ān was revealed in accordance with the requirements of *al-ʿaql/unzila l-Qur'ānu bi-l-ʿaqli*, and the prophets were dispatched according to the requirements of *al-ʿaql/buʿithat al-anbiyā'u bi-l-ʿaqli*, and they surpassed in their 'understandings' the communities (to whom they were sent)/*wa faḍḍalū ʿalā l-umami bi-ʿuqūlihim*." (al-Fārisī, Bad' al-Khalq 129f.)

Further, ibid. 221 (Wahb); Theologie II 64; al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab III 233; Ibn al-Jawzī, Adhkiyā' 8 (Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar...} Wahb) > idem, Dhamm al-Hawā 9; Kanz al-ʿUmmāl III 10-1 #105; & Wahb's statement in Ḥilyat IV 24-5.

6. The partial version in al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (Nawādir 242) gives a more detailed sequence of increasingly larger dry measures: *ḥabbah, ḥabbatayn, mudd, ṣāʿ, farq,* and *wasq*. For their volumes, see J. Burton-Page, "Makāyīl & Mawāzīn", E.I.[2] VI 117a-122a, on 118a: the early Ḥijāzī measures of capacity based on the *mudd* (402 grams = a Meccan *raṭl* of wheat) measured by grains of wheat/*ḥabbah*, with one *ṣāʿ* = 4 *mudds*, & a *wasq* = 60 *mudds*; and al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Athīr, al-Nihāyah fī Gharīb al-Ḥadīth wa l-Āthār [Cairo 1963-5] V 185. Al-Tirmidhī thus preserved a detail of the original form of Dāwūd's report included by al-Ḥārith in his Musnad (see editor's comment in Maṭālib III 20 n.2), and confirmed by Tanzīh I 219, as well as by al-Qazwīnī, ʿAjā'ib al-Makhlūqāt, ed. Fārūq Saʿd [4th pr., Beirut 1981] 380-1.

7. "*Al-ʿummāl bi-ṭāʿati llāhi ʿalā qadri aʿmālihim wa jiddihim wa yaqīnihim*". Another report from Dāwūd's book stresses the link between assiduous diligence/*jidd* or striv-

ing/*ijtihād*, and obedience: Maṭālib III 16 #2750 > Tanzīh I 218 #111 (= Iḥyā' I 84; & al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, Maḥajjat I 172), *via* } al-Barā'a b. ʿĀzib } the Prophet :

"The angels diligently strove and exerted themselves in obedience to God by means of *al-ʿaql/jadda l-malā'ikah wa ijtahadū fī ṭāʿati llāhi bi-l-ʿaql*; and the faithful among mankind diligently strive and exert themselves in obedience to God in proportion to (the measure of) their *ʿaql/ʿalā qadri ʿuqūlihim*. So the greater of them in acts of obedience to God is the more amply endowed with *ʿaql/aʿmaluhum bi-ṭāʿati llāhi awfaruhum ʿaqlan*." [only Maṭālib has *aʿlamuhum bi-*/the most knowlegeable in].

8. In ʿAql 61 #85 (Ibn Jubayr); and as a prophetic *ḥadīth via* Jābir b. ʿAbdAllāh al-Anṣārī in Maṭālib III 15 #2747; also ʿIqd II 249, & Kanz al-ʿUmmāl III 217 #1907. Is its primitive form the anonymous *qawl*, "*lā murū'ata li-man lā ʿaqla la-hu*"; ʿIqd II 252. The astute Basran *faqīh* & *qāḍī* ʿUbaydAllāh b. al-Ḥasan al-ʿAnbarī (d.168/784-5, Tahdhīb VII 7-8 #12) declared: "*ḥumqu l-rajuli yufsidu dīnahu, wa lā dīna li-man lā ʿaqla la-hu!*", and he refused to admit the legal testimony of the chaste idiot, *al-aḥmaq al-ʿafīf*; ʿUyūn al-Akhbār I 17 > Bahjat al-Majālis I 537.

9. *Qiwām*, or perhaps *qawām* 'subsistence'.

10. Again, taking *dīn* as obedience to God ('religion'), leading to salvation in the Hereafter; see al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, ʿAyn VIII 73 (*al-dīn = al-ṭāʿah, al-madīn = al-ʿabd*). Thus al-Ṣādiq: "*man kāna ʿāqilan kāna la-hu dīn, wa man kāna la-hu dīn dakhala l-jannah*"; Uṣūl I 11 #6. Or the anonymous wisdom saying: "*man lā ʿaqla la-hu lā dīna la-hu, wa man lā dīna la-hu lā akhirata la-hu*"; al-Kutubī, Ghurar 118. See Maḥāsin, *k. maṣābīḥ al-ẓulam*, 217 #113, ("*kayfa dīnuh?*", in

the same sense as *kayfa ʿaqluh*); & the saying by ʿAlī recounted by al-Ṣādiq: "*aṣlu l-insāni lubbuhu wa ʿaqluhu dīnuhu wa murū'atuhu ḥaythu yajʿalu nafsahu...*"; Ibn Bābawayh, Amālī > Biḥār I 82 #2. *Dīn* and *ʿaql* are actively linked in the maxim repeated by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī: "*mā ʿaqala dīnahu man lam yaḥfaẓ lisānahu*"; Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Ṣamt 207-8 #34.

11. Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Muḥāsabat al-Nafs [Beirut 1986] 60 #17. Several reports by Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar employ similar terms, eg. the *ʿaql*-decad in Maṭālib 14 #2746 > Tanzīh I 219 #116 (& Iḥyā' I 84-5 > Maḥajjat I 172; + al-Karājakī, Kanz > Biḥār I 95 #44): "*...diʿāmatu l-dīn al-ʿaql, ...wa qayyimi buyūti l-ṣiddiqīna l-ʿaql*". Compare al-Ṣādiq: "*al-ʿaql* is the guide of the faithful/*dalīlu l-mu'min*"; Uṣūl I 25 #24 > al-Karājakī, Kanz I 199.

12. Maṭālib III 17 #2754 > Tanzīh I 215 #93; & Iḥyā' I 84. Unfortunately these sources do not preserve the *isnāds* of Dāwūd's reports, and since al-Ḥārith Ibn Abī Usāmah's Musnad remains unpublished, the higher criticism of the *riwāyah* is impeded. Perhaps al-Suyūṭī, Dhayl al-Mawḍūʿāt I 5-10 [not seen] includes the *isnāds*.

13. Dāwūd's report then goes on to invoke the bitter remorse of the *fājir* in Hellfire, Q *al-Mulk* 67:10 ("*law kunnā nasmaʿu aw naʿqilu...*"). See al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's gloss on the same verse, "*kānū qawman luddan lā ʿaqla la-hum* they were a contentious people lacking understanding"; Jawāb al-Masā'il...Ahl Sarakhs, ed. Radtke in Drei Schriften, 142-3 §4, & ed. ʿA.ʿA. Barakah, Ādāb al-Murīdīn 45; & cf. idem, Adab al-Nafs 94.

14. Tanzīh I 222 #133: "*diʿāmatu l-bayt asāsuhu wa*

di'āmatu l-dīn wa asāsuhu l-ma'rifatu bi-llāhi wa l-yaqīn wa l-'aqlu l-nāfi'", ...mā l-'aqlu l-nāfi'? qāla [al-nabiy Ṣ], "al-kaffu 'an ma'āṣī llāhi wa l-ḥirṣu 'alā ṭā'ati llāhi". For Abū Yaḥyā Sulaymān b. 'Īsā al-Sijzī (d. late 2nd or early 3rd century?), and his Tafḍīl al-'Aql, see Jarḥ IV 134 #586; Kāmil III 1136-8; Mīzān CO 218-9 #3496; Lisān III 99-100 #333; Goldziher, ZA XXII 342-3; & Theologie II 121.

15. Various third century Ṣūfī definitions of *ma'rifah* place it above demonstrative and speculative knowledge as a form of "illuminative cognition" (not necessarily an esoteric vision), while some link it with *'ilm* not admitting of doubt as well as with fear of God; see R. Arnaldez, "Ma'rifa", E.I.² VI on 569-70.

16. Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Nawādir al-Uṣūl 242-3; & Tanzīh I 221 #126.

17. The parallel to the 'setting' and 'encomium' of the *Aqbil!* report is evident. Here "Ibn Mas'ūd" is made to consciously evoke that (earlier) report. For the primacy of this praise of *'aql* see ch.1 nn.15 & 16.

18. A good example is Dāwūd's report in Maṭālib III 22 #2769 > Tanzīh I 217 #107 (with variants), wherein the Meccan Successor Mujāhid b. Jabr (d.104/722) questions Ibn 'Abbās whether pilgrims to the Ka'bah are adversely affected by their paucity of *'aql*. Ibn 'Abbās quotes the Prophet:

> "The servant does not obey his Lord by (performing) anything — neither 'utmost-exertion'/*jihād* nor anything from his own doing of the varieties of devout acts — if he does not understand it [variant: if he does not act on the strength of *'aql*]. If an ignorant-

fool/*jāhil* excelled in devotions over the diligent-workers, then what he perverts is more than what he rectifies (within himself of corrupt traits)."

The key verbal construction in this report occurs in two forms, providing a clue how to properly construe it: *lam yakun yaʻqiluhu*, ie. *lam yaʻmal bi-ʻaqlin*. The verbal force of the infinitive *ʻaql* is uppermost in these parallel expressions (*yaʻqiluhu* = *yaʻmalu bi-ʻaqlin*): "acting according to, on the strength of *ʻaql*", or "performing*operating (one's) *ʻaql*"; ie. performing deeds and working with understanding. The verb *yaʻmalu bi-* may in fact be read to yield an even more plausible meaning as stem IV *yuʻmilu bi-* "he makes use of\employs (as an instrument his) *ʻaql*".

19. Madelung, "Amr Be Maʻrūf", E.Ir. I 993a; & Theologie II 41f. & 87-121.

20. As usual, the full *isnād* is not given in Tanzīh; it may be in al-Suyūṭī, Dhayl al-Mawḍūʻāt I 10-3.

21. "*Mā khalaqtu khalqan huwa akramu ʻalayya min-ka.*" This praise lavished on *al-ʻaql* is likely taken from the 'encomium' in the earlier *Aqbil!* report; or it may attest to its existence as a separate *ḥadīth* (ch.1 n.15).

22. "*Akramu khalqī ʻalayya wa afḍaluhum ʻindī aḥsanuhum ʻaqlan wa aḥsanuhum ʻaqlan aḥsanuhum ʻamalan.*"

23. The 'hypostasis' or personification of Wisdom as a heavenly pre-existent entity alongside of God (Proverbs

3:19, 8:22-31; Job 28; Ben Sira 24:3-12; Wis.Sol. 7:25f.; Eth.Enoch 42, & 94:5f.; ...) was rooted in Israelite theological reflection upon ancient oriental myths of the goddess\angel Wisdom hidden with God before the creation of the world; eg. see J.M. Lindenberger, The Aramaic Proverbs of Aḥīqār [Baltimore & London 1983] 68 §13. It was co-ordinated in Biblical teaching with the mythical concept of Heavenly Wisdom seeking a resting place on earth, a dwelling and union with man. In Biblicist Prophetic & Apocalyptic tradition the theme of the rejection and vindication of God's Wisdom was merged with notions of the primal man, and fed into early Christology (the '*Q*' materials, Gos.Thomas, & John I:1-18) and the Gnostic *Sophia*. Wisdom has been present since the foundation of the world through its representatives linking all generations. Wisdom sends the prophets and the wise and is in turn vindicated by them, not replacing human agency. G. Fohrer remarks that the point of such reflective theology is that Wisdom "shows its patent of nobility: the older the nobility the higher it is in rank, and similarly, the older wisdom is, the more normative it is... Thus the weight and authority of the address to man are enhanced"; "*sophia*", Kittel's TDNT VII 476-96, on 491.

For the creation role of *āsn xrad* 'innate wisdom' in Iranian Wisdom, see eg. the Pahlavi text Mēnōg-ī Xrad, trans. West (Pahlavi Texts III) ch.I.11-3, 49-50, & ch.LVII.4-18 (+ cf. LVII.19 "And every man whose participation in wisdom is much, his share of heaven is then much more."); & de Menasce, Le troisième livre de Dēnkart *passim*. Further, cf. Shaul Shaked, "A facetious recipe and the two wisdoms: Iranian themes in Muslim garb", Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam IX/1987/24-35 > From Zoroastrian Iran to Islam IX (on innate & acquired wisdom, *ʿaqlāni*).

24 See eg. al-Jāḥiẓ, Ḥujaj al-Nubuwwah, in Rasā'il al-Jāḥiẓ, ed. ʿA.-S.M. Hārūn [Cairo 1965-79] III 237-9 (on the

ṭabā'i' and *gharīzatu l-'aql*); & *al-Qāḍī* 'Abd al-Jabbār, Mughnī XI 371f.

25. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā..., a descendant of the fourth imam 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sajjād.

26. Any one of several persons; see Tanqīḥ IIa 55-57; & Jarḥ VII 186 #1059 (the Kufan-Egyptian Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Asbāṭī).

27. Tanqīḥ I 85 #502. See Ibn Ḥibbān, Majrūḥīn II 119, for the role of several Qaṭṭānīs in relating this type of material.

28. Possibilities include Tanqīḥ I 88 #s 513 & 514; & Jarḥ II 71 #129 (...Ibn Abī Bazzah *mu'adhdhin masjid al-ḥarām*, 'weak').

29. The printed text of 'Ilal has: 'Īsā b. "Ja'far b. Muḥammad b." [*sic*] 'AbdAllāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. An extra element in the name has crept in. Rather he is 'Īsā b. 'AbdAllāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī (a great-grandson of 'Alī's son 'Umar). His compilation of reports on his forefathers was relayed by a number of others; Kāmil IV 1883-5; Mīzān III 315; Ibn Ḥajar Lisān IV 461-2; R.Ṭūsī 257 #554 (associate of al-Ṣādiq); F.Ṭūsī 116 #507; R.Najāshī II 146-7 #797; & Tanqīḥ IIa 362 #9316. Sunnī opinion of 'Īsā's family *riwāyah* was rather negative (Ibn 'Adiy: *'āmmatu mā yarwīhi lā yutāba'u 'alayhi*; al-Dāraquṭnī: *matrūk al-ḥadīth*); Jarḥ VI 280 #1554.

He is the same 'Īsā b. 'AbdAllāh al-'Umarī, dubbed *'Īsā al-Mubārak*, whose mother was Umm al-Ḥusayn bint 'AbdAllāh b. Muḥammad al-Bāqir (Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's neice); & cf. Uṣūl I

bāb al-naṣṣ ʿalā Abī l-Ḥasan Mūsā, 309 #7.

30. For ʿĪsā's father, the Medinan ʿAbdAllāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar (d. during al-Manṣūr's reign): Jarḥ V 155 #713; Tahdhīb VI 18 #22; R.Ṭūsī 223 #7 (associate of al-Ṣādiq). He transmitted from his father as well as his maternal uncle al-Bāqir; his mother was Khadījah bint ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn.
For ʿĪsā's grandfather, Abū ʿAbdAllāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar (killed 145/762 in Medinah): Jarḥ VIII 18 #81; Tahdhīb IX 361 #599; R.Ṭūsī 101 #6 (al-Sajjād) & 279 #1 (al-Ṣādiq); Tanqīḥ III 165 #11187 (*ṣāḥib al-maghāzī*). Not to be confused with the Ḥusaynid, son of *ʿUmar al-aṣghar*: Abū Ḥafṣ Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (d.171/787-8).

31. Dubbed *ʿUmar al-akbar*, he was reputedly the last of ʿAlī's sons to die, living till the days of the Caliph al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (rg. 86/705 - 96/715); Jarḥ VI 124 #676; Tahdhīb VII 485 #806; & for his mother, R.Kishshī 72 #128.

32. Or "the good and the bad qualities*traits", in the sense of the *akhlāq*; ie. after the *farā'iḍ & sunnah*, follows the cultivation of virtues & purification from vices. The stress on 'light in the heart' strongly suggests this, placing the *akhlāq* above the outward acts and obligatory duties of religion, a very important theme of the *ʿaql* reports.

33. For Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Sālim\Salm Ibn al-Jiʿābī: R.Najāshī II 319-20 #1056; R.Ṭūsī 505 #79 & 513 #118; Tanqīḥ III 165-6 #11190; T.Baghdād III 28-31; al-Dhahabī, Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalā' XVI 88-92 #69; Mīzān III 670-1. A *qāḍī* of Kufah and Mawṣil famed for phenomenal *ḥifẓ* and perspicacity in *ḥadīth* sciences, he was

a specialist in the ṭuruq of ʻAlid reports, and had particular theological leanings (Zaydī?).

34. Jarḥ IX 231 #969; Kāmil V 1884; T.Baghdād XIV 304-5 #7615; Tahdhīb XI 425 #830; & cf. Majrūḥīn II 119 = six reports from a compilation by Yūsuf b. Mūsā } ʻĪsā al-ʻUmarī. Of Ahwāzī origin, Yūsuf lived successively in Kufah, Rayy, & Baghdad; he was deemed trustworthy or ṣadūq, transmitting from the Kufans Wakīʻ b. al-Jarrāḥ, Sufyān b. ʻUyaynah, & the Shīʻī Kufan predestinarian ʻUbaydAllāh b. Mūsā al-ʻAbsī (d.213/828). He served as an informant for five of the six major Sunnī compilers. For other rāwīs on ʻĪsā al-ʻUmarī, see Tanqīḥ IIa 362 #9316.

35. For the context of some aspects of early Imāmī thought relevant to motifs in this report, see Theologie I 397-403; & Amir-Moezzi, Guide Divin 124-7.

36. Eg. the materials on the Angel of Wisdom in Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews I 139 (Enoch translated in the seventh heaven beholds an enthroned colossus = Metatron with 365,000 eyes & "the prince of wisdom and the prince of understanding are at his service" — & cf. Hebrew Enoch); II 309 (ascension of Moses who sees the angel Zagzagel in the seventh heaven as prince of Torah & of Wisdom); & VI 246 n.12 (Michael as prince of Wisdom). The *shekīnah* is also involved in Rabbinic employment of Biblical references to wisdom and its part in creation; see eg. H. Jaeger, "Patristic Conception of Wisdom" 94-6; & U. Wilckens, "*sophia*", Kittel's TDNT VII 496-528, on 507-9.

37. Eg. ʻIqd al-Farīd II 248; al-Māwardī, Adab al-Dunyā wa l-Dīn I 23-4; Ibn al-Jawzī, Dhamm al-Hawā 5. See the treatment by F. Rosenthal on *ʻaql* as a light in the heart

and its connection with *ʿilm*, Knowledge Triumphant 155f., 253, 273 n.3; further D. Gutas, Greek Wisdom Literature in Arabic Translation: a Study of the Graeco-Arabic Gnomologia [New Haven 1975], text 122-5 #D 15 (Plato).

Compare Ben Sira 3:25, the fool who refuses to acquire knowledge can never acquire wisdom: "Where the pupil of the eye is missing, there is no light, and where there is no knowledge [*daʿat*], there is no wisdom." Rosenthal links *ʿaql* as "a light thrown into the heart" with philosophical epistemology (Aristotle's reference to *noús* as "a light kindled by the deity in the soul"); Knowledge Triumphant 155-6 (& cf. 35-40). Further, H. Conzelmann, "*phōs*", Kittel's TDNT IX 310-58, for the ethical domain of light & wisdom.

38. Note the wisdom saying by the Kufan-Antiochian devotee who buried his books in dedication to a higher form of knowledge, Yūsuf b. Asbāṭ al-Shaybānī (d.195/810-11): "*al-ʿaqlu sirāju mā baṭana\buṭina wa milāku mā ʿaluna wa sā'isu l-jasadi wa zīnatu kulli aḥad...*"; ʿAql 55 #69, via the Kufan ascetic ʿAbdAllāh b. Khubayq al-Anṭākī ("*kāna yuqālu...*"); also in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Al-Faqīh wa l-Mutafaqqih II 21; Ibn al-Jawzī, Dhamm al-Hawā 10.

In the tradition of "mystics of light" dominant in the Christian East, the *noús* 'intellect' was commonly seen to be the "eye of the heart" ruling there as sovereign. This notion had been anticipated in Hellenistic mysticism where *noús* brings knowledge and insight, and man can know God only through the *noús* in an illuminative revelation rather than by reason or investigation (eg. Corpus Hermeticum V.10, & X.4 "my mind's eye").

PART II

THE POWERS OF *al-ʿAQL*.

Chapter 5

THE SEVENTY-FIVE POWERS OF *ʿAQL* AND *JAHL*

"The Spirit is the animation of the Body,
and *al-ʿaql* is the animation of the Spirit." – ʿAlī.[1]

" *ʿAql* is the commander of the *mu'min*'s troops
(*amīr junūdih*)." – al-Ṣādiq (Uṣūl II 47 #1).

This chapter resumes several issues raised in Part I, and could serve as a prologue to a future study of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq's handling of the notion of *ʿaql*. A common feature in wisdom lists of human qualities is the listing of paired opposites often subsumed under a primary opposition: "intelligence vs. ignorance", or "dispassion vs. passion" (*ʿaql vs. jahl, & ʿaql vs. hawā*). This motif of opposing pairs of virtues and vices remains a universal characteristic of human ethical practice. A number of Near Eastern religious traditions emphasized the radical cosmic and ethical implications of such dualism, especially Zoroastrianism, Gnosticism, and Manichaeanism. Yet the Semitic monotheistic faiths made ample room for psychological or ethical dualism in their spiritual life and apocalyptic teachings, eg. the Rabbinic 'Two Inclinations'[2], the Essene 'Sons of Light' vs. 'Sons of Darkness', or the 'unseen combat' of Christian monastic spirituality.

Early Shīʻism was saturated with apocalyptic messianic thinking employing themes of predestinarian election, with these aspects being integrated into an esoteric spiritual teaching.[3] Every authentic esoteric teaching makes a division between the 'exoteric ǀ esoteric', while simultaneously addressing the importance of a middle ground moving from the one to the other, a 'mesoteric' level of thought and practice. These remarks may suffice to introduce the narrative by al-Ṣādiq portraying the struggle between 'light ǀ darkness', 'virtues ǀ vices', or 'Intelligence ǀ Ignorance'.

§I. SOURCES FOR THE TEXT

This Imāmī *ḥadīth* is a widely quoted piece from the teaching of al-Ṣādiq. It occurs in the earliest extant compilations of Twelver literature, and became especially favored by the gnostic-theosophic wing of Shīʻī thought.[4] It has been commented on until the present century.[5] There is little reason to question its attribution to al-Ṣādiq. The following translation is based on the two earliest literary compilations where it occurs: primarily al-Barqī's Maḥāsin, with comparisons to al-Kulaynī's Uṣūl al-Kāfī.

1. Maḥāsin *kitāb maṣābīḥ al-ẓulam, bāb al-ʻaql*, 196-8 #22 [= final report of the chapter]; eighty-one opposing pairs of troops are listed. This is our base text.

2. Uṣūl I *kitāb al-ʻaql wa l-jahl*, 20-3 #14; listing seventy-eight pairs.[6] Al-Kulaynī transmits it from } "a number of our companions"[7] } al-Barqī... .

The fact that these two earliest sources for the text transmit differing numbers of *jund* 'troops', either eighty-one or seventy-eight, reveals the parallel existence of two recensions both of which incorporated additional pairs as later interpolations, six with al-Barqī, or three with al-Kulaynī. The literal sense of 'seventy-five' pairs of troops must have been original, and should not be rejected (below n.63).

The following 4th/10th century works were also consulted:

3. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Masʿūdī (d.345/956), Ithbāt al-Waṣiyyah [Najaf n.d.] 9-11. Written ca. 332/934, there is no decisive reason to deny the attribution to al-Masʿūdī. Al-Masʿūdī inaugurates this work on the salvation-history of the Imāms (*ḥujaj Allāh*) with this report, introducing the myth on the authority of "*ʿālim ahli l-bayt* the learned-authority from the Family of the Prophet", a cautious way of indirectly referring to either al-Ṣādiq or al-Kāẓim among Shīʿī scholars. Al-Masʿūdī's text provides a unique arrangement of the seventy-five troops, successively in two separate lists. He informs the reader at the start that this arrangement follows the order which the imam specified. The poor quality of the Najaf edition of Ithbāt detracts from the value of its readings, listing 79 troops for *ʿaql* and 83 (?) for *jahl*.

4. Ibn Bābawayh, 'Ilal bāb 96, 113-5 #10, reported via Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār } al-Barqī...; 78 pairs of troops are listed (= the number in Uṣūl).

5. Ibn Bābawayh, al-Khiṣāl *abwāb al-sab'īn wa mā fawqahu*, 555-7 #13, who relates it through his father on both Sa'd b. 'AbdAllāh al-Ash'arī al-Qummī and 'AbdAllāh b. Ja'far al-Ḥimyarī } al-Barqī... (whence > al-Majlisī, Biḥār I *bāb 'alāmāt al-'aql wa junūduh*, 109-11 #7, + his commentary 112-116); 81 pairs are listed (= the number in Maḥāsin).

6. Ibn Shu'bah al-Ḥarrānī, Tuḥaf 295-97, as the conclusion to the 'Instruction' of imam Mūsā al-Kāẓim to Hishām b. al-Ḥakam;[10] the Najaf/Beirut edition lists only 70 pairs (but 71 in the printed text of Biḥār I 158-59).

Two later works may be mentioned from among many others:

7. Abū l-Faḍl 'Alī al-Ṭabrisī (6th-7th century A.H.), Mishkāt al-Anwār *bāb 6, faṣl 8*, 252-254, quoting Maḥāsin.

8. Muḥsin-i Fayḍ-i Kāshānī (11th century A.H.), al-Maḥajjat al-Bayḍā' fī Tahdhīb al-Iḥyā', ed. 'A.A. al-Ghaffārī [Tehran 1339-42] I *kitāb al-'ilm, bāb* 7, 174-77, quoting from Uṣūl. (& His al-Wāfī [Tehran 1906] I *k. al-'aql*, opening pages, also from Uṣūl.)

§I A. THE MYTH OF THE TROOPS OF AL-'AQL AND AL-JAHL

#25) ISNĀD Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Barqī }

'Alī b. Ḥadīd[11] (fl. 1st-third of 3rd century?) }

Samā'ah b. Mihrān[12] :

[Samā'ah was a silk merchant who traded at Ḥarrān, resided in the Kindah quarter of Kufa (where the mosque of the S. Arabian *Ḥaḍramiyyūn* was located), and died in Medinah allegedly after al-Ṣādiq had foretold his approaching demise. Al-Najāshī related from a written source (Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī?) that Samā'ah died during the lifetime of al-Ṣādiq in 145/762 aged ca. sixty, yet noted that this is inconsistent with the perception that he also related from Mūsā al-Kāẓim. Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī records that Samā'ah transmitted from the Kufan Murji'ī tradent Abū 'AbdAllāh 'Amr b. Murrah al-Jamalī al-Murādī (d. ca. 118/736; see ch.1 n.44), and served as an informant for Sufyān al-Thawrī (d.161/777-8), which may be consistent with a death date in 145 AH. His book of reports from al-Ṣādiq was considered utterly trustworthy by Twelvers and had a wide diffusion. Al-Shaykh al-Mufīd praised his probity, and many important Imāmī thinkers relayed traditions from Samā'ah (eg. Jamīl b. Darrāj, Ibn Abī 'Umayr, Hishām b. Sālim, and Muḥammad b. Sinān).

This *isnād* may have hidden links, eg. al-Barqī may have taken it from his father's books; or 'Alī b. Ḥadīd may have received it from a son of Samā'ah, or simply found it (*wijādah*) in Samā'ah's book.]

TEXT I was with Abū 'AbdAllāh (al-Ṣādiq) a.s., and with him were a number of his 'close-supporters'.[13] And mention of *al-'Aql wa l-Jahl* 'Intelligence and Ignorance' [or: Wisdom & Folly[14]] occurred. Then Abū 'AbdAllāh a.s. said :

" Know *al-ʿAql* and his troops, and know[15] *al-Jahl* and his troops! Thus shall you be rightly guided."

Samāʿah said: "May I be your ransom! We know only what you make us know."[16] Thereupon Abū ʿAbdAllāh a.s. said :

"*Inna llāha khalaqa l-ʿaqla* God created *al-ʿAql* 'Intelligence', and (*al-ʿAql*) is the first creature He created among the 'spiritual*immaterial beings' (*al-rūḥāniyyīn*) on the right side of the Throne, from its light.[17] Then He said to him, "Go back!" and he retreated. Next He said to him, "Come forward!" and he drew near. So God Mighty and Majestic[18] said, "I created thee as a sublime creature/*khalqan ʿaẓīman*,[19] and I esteem[20] thee above all My creation."

Then He created *al-Jahl* 'Ignorance' from the darkful brackish sea.[21] So He said to him, "Go back!" and he retreated. Next He said to him, "Come forward!", but he did not draw near. Then God said to him, "Art thou become full of self-pride?!",[22] and He cursed him.

Thereupon He appointed seventy-five *jund* 'troops' for *al-ʿAql*. When *al-Jahl* saw what God had ennobled *al-ʿAql* with, and what He had given him, he harbored enmity against him. So *al-Jahl* said, "O Lord! This (*al-ʿAql*) is a creature like myself. You created him and exalted him and empowered him/*qawwaytahu* [with troops]; and I am his adversary/*ḍidduhu*,[23] yet I have no power against him.[24] So give

me troops equal to what you gave him." Then God said, "Certainly, and if thou rebel after that, I shall exclude thee and thy troops from My Mercy." (*al-Jahl*) said, "I am agreeable." Thereupon (God) gave (*al-Jahl*) seventy-five troops. Among the seventy-five troops that God granted *al-ʿAql* were:

1. *al-Khayr* Good, and it is the assistant/*wazīr*[25] of *al-ʿAql*. And He appointed *al-Sharr* Evil as its adversary, and it is the assistant of *al-Jahl*.

	[Troops of *al-ʿAql*]	[Troops of *al-Jahl*]
2.	*al-Īmān* Faith, its adversary	*al-Kufr* Unfaith[26]
3.	*al-Taṣdīq* Assent of faith[27]	*al-Juḥūd* Denial of faith
4.	*al-Rajā'* Hope	*al-Qunūṭ* Despair
5.	*al-ʿAdl* Justice	*al-Jawr* Injustice
6.	*al-Riḍā* Contentment	*al-Sukhuṭ* Discontent
7.	*al-Shukr* Gratitude	*al-Kufrān* Ingratitude
8.	*al-Ṭamaʿ* Hopefulness [?]	*al-Ya's* Hopelessness[28]
9.	*al-Tawakkul* Reliance[29]	*al-Ḥirṣ* Cupidity[30]
10.	*al-Ra'fah* Kindly pity	*al-ʿIzzah* Scornful Disdain[31]
11.	*al-Raḥmah* Loving Compassion	*al-Ghaḍab* Angry unkindness
12.	*al-ʿIlm* Knowledge	*al-Jahl* Ignorance*Folly
13.	*al-Fahm* Comprehension	*al-Ḥumq* Stupidity
14.	*al-ʿIffah* Chasteness	*al-Hatk* Disgrace[32]
15.	*al-Zuhd* Abstinence	*al-Raghbah* Craving
16.	*al-Rifq* Gentleness	*al-Khurq* Roughness[33]
17.	*al-Rahbah* Fear with Caution	*al-Jarā'ah* Boldness[34]
18.	*al-Tawāḍuʿ* Humility	*al-Takabbur* Arrogance[35]
19.	*al-Tu'adah* Unhurried Deliberateness	*al-Tasarruʿ* Rash Haste

20.	*al-Ḥilm* Forbearance	*al-Safah* Foolish Impatience
21.	*al-Ṣamt* Alert Silence[36]	*al-Hadhar* Idle Prattle
22.	*al-Istislām* Submission, Resignation to truth	*al-Istikbār* Haughtiness, Prideful arrogance
23.	*al-Taslīm* Unquestioning Acceptance	*al-Tajabbur* Insolence[37]
-24.	*al-ʿAfw* Beneficence	*al-Ḥiqd* Malice
-25.	*al-Riqqah* Tender-hearted Amiability	*al-Shaqwah* Wretchedness
-26.	*al-Yaqīn* Certainty	*al-Shakk* Doubt
27.	*al-Ṣabr* Steadfast Patience	*al-Jazaʿ* Restless Impatience
28.	*al-Ṣafḥ* Forgiveness	*al-Intiqām* Vengeance
29.	*al-Ghinā* Freedom from Want	*al-Faqr* Disquieting Needs[38]
30.	*al-Tafakkur* Considered Reflection[39]	*al-Sahw* Inattentive Distractedness
31.	*al-Ḥifẓ* Mindful Attention[40]	*al-Nisyān* Forgetfulness
32.	*al-Taʿaṭṭuf* Benevolent Sympathy	*al-Qaṭīʿah* Alienation,[41] Estranging Aloofness
33.	*al-Qunūʿ* Contentment	*al-Ḥirṣ* Greediness[42]
34.	*al-Mu'āsāh* Consoling Beneficence	*al-Manʿ* Meanness, Withholding Charity
35.	*al-Mawaddah* Friendliness	*al-ʿAdāwah* Enmity
36.	*al-Wafā'* Loyal Fidelity	*al-Ghadr* Perfidy
37.	*al-Ṭāʿah* Obedience, Compliance	*al-Maʿṣiyah* Disobedience, Rebelliousness
38.	*al-Khuḍūʿ* Humble Deference	*al-Taṭāwul* Overbearing Presumptuousness
39.	*al-Salāmah* Sound Welfare, Freedom from Distress	*al-Balā'* Distress, Misfortune[43]
40.	*al-Ḥubb* Love	*al-Bughḍ* Hatred[44]
41.	*al-Ṣidq* Truthfulness	*al-Kadhib* Deceit
42.	*al-Ḥaqq* Truth	*al-Bāṭil* Falsehood*Vanity[45]
43.	*al-Amānah* Trustworthiness, Fealty[46]	*al-Khiyānah* Unreliability
44.	*al-Ikhlāṣ* Sincerity	*al-Shawb* Insincerity
45.	*al-Shahāmah* Astuteness,	*al-Balādah* Idiocy,

	Perspicacity	Dull-Wittedness
-46.	*al-Fahm* Sharp-minded Acumen[47]	*al-Ghabāwah* Naivity, Simple-Mindedness
-47.	*al-Maʿrifah* Acknowledgement, Recognition of Truth	*al-Inkār* Rejection, Denial of Truth
48.	*al-Mudārāh* Affability, Conciliatoriness[48]	*al-Mukāshafah* Display of Open Hostility
49.	*Salāmat al-Ghayb* Guile-lessness, Sincerity[49]	*al-Mumākarah* Guile*Cunning
50.	*al-Kitmān* Secrecy,[50] Concealment of Knowledge	*al-Ifshā'* Divulging, Disclosure of Knowledge
51.	*al-Ṣalāt* Prayer	*al-Iḍāʿah* Omitting prayer
52.	*al-Ṣawm* Fasting	*al-Iftār* Breaking Fast
53.	*al-Jihād* Striving, Strenuous Endeavour	*al-Nukūl* Shirking*Recoiling from Exertion
54.	*al-Ḥajj* Pilgrimage (to the *Kaʿbah*)	*Nabdh al-Mīthāq* Forsaking the Covenant (of *hajj*)[51]
55.	*Ṣawn al-Ḥadīth* Discretion, Safeguarding one's Private Conversations with others	*al-Namīmah* Divulging one's Private Conversations Maliciously
56.	*Birr al-Wālidayn* Reverence for Parents	*al-ʿUqūq* Irreverence for Parents[52]
57.	*al-Ḥaqīqah* Being Real, Behaving Authentically[53]	*al-Riyā'* Dissemblance, Behaving Hypocritically
58.	*al-Maʿrūf* Performing Beneficent Deeds	← *al-Munkar* Performing the Reprehensible[54]
59.	*al-Sitr* Veiling, Humility[55]	*al-Tabarruj* Showing off
60.	*al-Taqiyyah* Discretion, Prudent Preservation	*al-Idhāʿah* Disclosing, Indiscreet Publicizing[56]
61.	*al-Inṣāf* Equity of mind, Cool-headedness	*al-Ḥamiyyah* Violent Tempered Hot-headedness[57]
62.	*al-Tahyi'ah* Accord twixt a Group & their Leader	*al-Baghyu* Seeking Power, Aggression, Injustice[58]
63.	*al-Naẓāfah* Cleanliness	*al-Qadhārah* Filthiness[59]
64.	*al-Ḥayā'* Organic-Shame, Modest Diffidence	*al-Khalʿ*[60] Shameless*Brazen Display of the Private Parts
65.	*al-Qaṣd* Moderation, Keeping within Due Bounds	*al-ʿUdwān* Exceeding Proper Limits, Injurious Conduct

66. *al-Rāḥah* Repose, Rest	*al-Ta'ab* Toil, Fatigue
67. *al-Suhūlah* Ease, Facility[61]	*al-Ṣu'ūbah* Hardship, Difficulty
68. *al-Barakah* Blessedness, Thrive in Good Fortune	*al-Maḥq* Thwarting, Denial of Blessings
-69. *al-'Āfiyah* Vitality, Vigorous Well-Being[63]	*al-Balā'*[62] Affliction by Decrepitude, Deterioration
70. *al-Qawām* Probity, Rectitude	*al-Mukātharah* Strife in the Pursuit of Surplus[64]
71. *al-Ḥikmah* Curbing desires	*al-Hawā* Natural desire[65]
72. *al-Waqār* Gravity, Sober & Dignified Deportment	*al-Khiffah* Levity*Frivolity
73. *al-Sa'ādah* Felicity, Happy Good Fortune	*al-Shaqāwah*[66] Misery, Wretched Misfortune
74. *al-Tawbah* Repentance, Contrition[67]	*al-Iṣrār* Perverse Wilful-ness
75. *al-Istighfār* Seeking Forgiveness	*al-Ightirār* Heedless Inconsiderateness[68]
76. *al-Muḥāfaẓah* Safeguarding, Upholding (truth)	*al-Tahāwun* Neglect, Indifference (to truth)
77. *al-Du'ā'* Supplication, Invocation (of God)	*al-Istinkāf* Spurning, Disdaining (to invoke God)
78. *al-Nashāṭ* Alacrity, Ardor	*al-Kasal* Indolence
79. *al-Faraḥ* Gladness, Exhilarating Joy	*al-Ḥuzn* Sadness, Grief Tinged with Keen Regret
80. *al-Ulfah* Amity, Sociable Familiarity	*al-'Aṣabiyyah* Zealous Clannishness[69]
81. *al-Sakhā'* Munificence	*al-Bukhl* Niggardliness.

"These traits of the troops of *al-'Aql* are not entirely completed[70] save in a prophet, or a vicegerent/*waṣiy* of a prophet [the Imām], or in a 'man-of-faith' whose heart God has purified for faith.[71] As for the rest of those among Our close-supporters/*muwālīnā*[72] [in whom is not completed the entirety of the powers of *al-'Aql*], any one of them is

not without the presence within him of some of these troops (of *al-ʿAql*),[73] so that he seeks to perfect *al-ʿAql* [by completing the assembly of its traits lacking in him], and guards against *al-Jahl*.[74] At that moment [on completing the traits], he shall be in the highest rank/*fī l-darajati l-ʿulyā* along with the prophets and the vicegerents. However, he obtains the triumph/*al-fawz* only by 'knowing' *al-ʿAql* [*bi-maʿrifati l-ʿAql* = through cognizance of *al-ʿAql*[75]] and his troops, and through shunning *al-Jahl*/*bi-mujānabati l-Jahl* and his troops. May God grant (both) Us and you success in achieving His obedience and His good pleasure."

SII. ANALYSIS OF AL-ṢĀDIQ'S MYTH

Several key terms and concepts contained in this piece will be examined first, then observations on its structure and literary genre shall be given. Taken together, both areas may demonstrate the purpose of al-Ṣādiq's report and throw light on the manner he set about refashioning elements available to him in his environment so as to vehicule his particular teaching. As Rosenthal remarks, "true creative originality is found only where there is meaningful continuity."[76] One should bear in mind the methodological distinction of a 'myth-ology' or a "trajectory of reflective mythology"[77], where mythological language is developed in dialogue with various mythic elements within the thought-

contexts of a particular era. Such exploitation of myth for theological reflection may illuminate certain features of early Muslim thought, in conjunction with the notion of a "sectarian milieu" put forward by J. Wansbrough.[78]

Just as we saw when examining the reports on the creation of *ʿaql* in Part I, a process of infusion or enrichment of meaning of the notion of *ʿaql* is underway. The *Aqbil!* report provides the basic frame for this piece, but it has been transformed by the fundamental polarity of the two opposing principles (*aḍdād*) of Light-Throne-Spirit | Darkness-Saltwater-Devil*nafs enveloped within the figures of *ʿAql & Jahl*. The setting is radically different, the testing and encomium still present, but the listing is an expansion of the paired lists of opposites known from the ancient polarity of *ʿaql* | *hawā-nafs-jahl*. A major function of this opposition is the replacement of one set of qualities with their opposing traits, a process portrayed as 'purifying' or 'shunning' (*yattaqī\yunaqqā min, yatakhallaṣu min, ṣafā min*) the troops of *jahl*, the *mujānabat al-jahl wa junūdih*. This process constitutes the reciprocal half of the completion or perfecting of *ʿaql*.

§II A. THE 'SPIRITUALS' AND FIRST-BORN WISDOM

How should one construe the remarkable assertion that God created *al-ʿAql* as "the first creature" from among the *rūḥāniyyūn*, those beings existing on the right side of God's

Throne, and that God created *al-ʿAql* from Throne light? We translated *al-rūḥāniyyīn* as "the spiritual*immaterial beings". Is one to understand this term in the sense of the extradeical pre-existent eternal Spirituals, in the Platonic sense of the Ideals? In Sabian (Neoplatonic?)[79] cosmology, the *rūḥāniyyūn* 'Spirituals' are incorporeal beings charged with governing the totality of corporeal existents, in the first rank coming the seven planets.[80] On the other hand, the term *rūḥāniyyūn* is linked semantically with the *roḥānāyé* of Syriac monastic literature, referring to the 'bodiless hosts' or ArchAngels Michael, Gabriel, and Rafael.

H.A. Wolfson, noting the use of the term *rūḥāniyyah* as equivalent to *ʿaqliyyah* 'intellectual' in Arabic philosophical texts, refered to a statement by the 4th century AH Egyptian Rabbi Saʿadyā Ga'ōn (d.331/942) concerning Jewish thinkers who identified these "eternal spiritual things" with the pre-existent Wisdom in Proverbs 8:22.[81] Saʿadyā refuted the identification of pre-existent Wisdom with the Platonic ideas "only on the ground that the wisdom in that verse is not eternal and is not something out of which the world was created".[82] Wolfson supports the reading of *rūḥānī* in the sense of 'subtle, fine, tenuous', judging that the circles referred to by Saʿadyā did not take 'Wisdom' to refer to Platonic ideas.

Early Imāmī reports contain references to a class of beings termed *al-rūḥāniyyūn*, sometimes in the sense of ArchAngels or 'bodiless hosts',[83] or at other times identified with 'light-essences' of angelic and prophetic beings.[84] In the ambience of this myth by al-Ṣādiq, there is no compelling reason to identify the *rūḥāniyyūn* or *al-ʻAql* with the Platonic Ideas, nor with ideal matter (*ṭīnah*, see ch.3 n.49), in terms of a cosmogonic principle engendering physical creation. This does not prevent a number of later interpreters from making such an identification.[85] Thus Fayḍ-i Kāshānī (Qurrat al-ʻUyūn 352) took *al-ʻaql* to be the 'Muḥammadan Light':

> "*jawharun malakūtiyyun nūrāniyyun ... bi-hi aqāma l-samāwāti wa l-arḍīna wa mā fī-hinna* a luminous heavenly essence ... by means of which (God) established the heavens and the earths and all they contain."

One might look for an analogy in the thought of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, who aligned the *rūḥ* as the faculty of sensation and estimation, identifying it with the heart and a light.[86]

However, Twelver *ḥadīth* literature does turn up reports ascribed to al-Ṣādiq where *ʻaql* appears to be endowed with a cosmic dimension evoking the Neoplatonic Intellect. An example is the statement attributed to Jaʻfar mentioning four things out of which *ʻaql* was created :[87]

#26) "*Khalaqa llāhu l-ʻaqla min arbaʻati ashyā'in :*

> *min al-ʿilm wa l-qudrah wa l-nūr wa l-mashīʾati bi-l-amr, fa-jaʿalahu qāʾiman bi-l-ʿilm dāʾiman fī l-malakūt.*
>
> God created *al-ʿaql* consisting of four things: Knowledge, Power, Light, and the Volition of the Affair [? the causing to be by God's *amr*/command?[88]]. Thus, (God) made him performing knowledge [? undertaking \ overseeing knowledge] eternally in the Celestial Kingdom."

This statement portrays *ʿaql* (here "Intellect") as comprising four attributes normally taken to belong to God Himself, unless we misunderstand it. The terminology and thrust of this unique statement is at odds with almost all the early reports depicting the creation of *al-ʿaql* being examined here. It probably reflects later terminological and conceptual developments of the 3rd/9th century. We ignore here further materials assigned to al-Ṣādiq dealing with the creation of man's psychic body in a physiological-affective scheme wherein *al-ʿaql* plays a leading role, eg. four faculties or powers of *ʿaql* (*daʿāʾim* 'Supports': *fiṭnah, fahm, ḥifẓ, & ʿilm*)[89], or the linkage of *ʿaql & nūr* with five human powers (*ʿilm, ḥifẓ, dhakāʾ, fiṭnah, & fahm;* see ch.6 §III report #30).

The details on the creation of *al-ʿAql* found in Jaʿfar's myth point more to the heavenly pre-existent or 'first-born' Wisdom of Biblicist (Jewish & Christian) speculations: par-

ticularly the details of "the right side of the Throne"[90], and from the Throne-light. This does not exclude a second-hand Platonic input, since the 'hypostasis' of Wisdom had integrated important Hellenistic elements long before Islam: well known eg. from Philo or Wisdom of Solomon, and from early Christian and Gnostic literature on *Sophia*, as well as in Patristic Christology. This is one reason for construing *al-ʿAql* here as the 'hypostasis' of Heavenly Wisdom.[91] In using the term 'hypostasis' one risks falling into the morass of controversies surrounding the figure of personified Wisdom in ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, Rabbinic, and Patristic wisdom traditions, and the long running debate over whether to view pre-creation Wisdom in technical theological and philosophical terms as a cosmological speculation under Hellenistic influence. (A separate chapter would be required to summarize the chief lines of development preceding Islam relevant to pre-existent Wisdom, which could throw light on the issues at hand.)

Suffice it to say that by 'hypostasis' we intend the religious function of pre-creation Wisdom as a manifestation of the personal presence of God (cf. 'Spirit' & 'Word') in a homiletic atmosphere. *Al-ʿAql* may be equated with personified 'Wisdom' to the extent that it embraces the continuity of God's active presence within man as the light of insight, understanding, and self-examination; it points to a

religious experience comprising ethical and spiritual dimensions.[32] *Al-ʿAql* derives from light and spirit in the Throne realm (recall ch.4 reports #22 - #24). Opposed to it is *al-Jahl* as a 'hypostasis' of Ignorance, evoking the widespread contrast between personified 'wisdom' and 'folly' in ancient Near Eastern Wisdom.[33] Here, *al-Jahl* is a metaphor for the Devil, while *al-ʿaql* encompasses a prophetic dimension.

SII B. SPIRITUAL COMBAT, OR DUALISTIC COSMIC WARFARE?

The combat between *ʿAql & Jahl* is between two evenly matched 'hosts' or *jund\junūd* 'troops', employed in the sense of invisible armies or powers. One may be reminded of Shamʿūn's asking the Prophet to describe the *ṭawā'if* 'companies' of *al-ʿaql* (Tuḥaf 19) in one version of the Century of *al-ʿaql*, but in that piece the traits of *ʿaql & jahl* are not explicit pairs of matching opposites. The term *junūd* to connote 'hidden armies' is of course a Qur'ānic notion, eg. Q 9:40 "*ayyadahu bi-junūdin lam tarawhā* aided him with hosts which you did not see",[34] often interpreted as angels; also the term "*junūd Iblīs* the hosts of Iblīs": Q 26:95 "*wa junūdu Iblīsa ajmaʿūna*". Second century Muslim traditions often spoke of the *junūd Iblīs*,[35] and human spirits/*arwāḥ* are likened to troops drawn up in ranks in a famous *ḥadīth*.[36] Al-Ṣādiq's myth describes the struggle between two hosts led by angelic-light and demonic-dark principles within man, each being supplied to him by God.

However, certain details of this myth evoke the dualist teachings of Iran, or of Dayṣānī and gnostic Manichaean thought, which invested dualism with both cosmological and spiritual-ethical significance by the doctrine of the co-existence from eternity of two opposing principles of light and darkness, located respectively in the heights and the depths. The term *ḍidd* 'adversary' used to depict the relationship between the opposing 'troops' as two armed camps in strife is one such detail.[97] The 'agreement' struck between God and *al-Jahl* is perhaps another one.[98] The source of *al-ʿAql* in Throne light and of *al-Jahl* in the darkness of the briny abyss, is certainly more than a coincidental parallel to dualist cosmological teachings, as Amir-Moezzi rightly perceives.[99]

In Zoroastrian ethical and religious writings in Pahlavi, the conceptions of *mēnōg* 'spiritual' vs. *gētīg* 'material world\form', simultaneously bear cosmic roles and function as an individual person's soul power. But as Shaked has shown, while these two opposed realms coexist, creation (being the act of the good god, *Ahura Mazda*) only takes place in the *gētīg* world, while *Ahreman* exists in the *mēnōg* world.[100] The *gētīg* world is at the same time an expression of the *mēnōg*; thus evil has no material being, and the combat against the Devil is a fight against a non-material part of oneself.[101] In effect, the good god

creates the *gētīg* world as a trap for the evil god — thus evil is trapped in a good universe. Certain Pahlavi texts extoll the concept of *xrad* 'Wisdom' as an independent divine hypostasis equal to or higher than the six divine entities (the *Amahraspands*) serving as the companions to *Ahura Mazda*; eg. chapters I & LVII of Mēnōg-ī Xrad 'The Spirit of Wisdom' (see ch.4 n.23).

Yet the dualism of al-Ṣādiq's piece is a mitigated one subsumed under the authority of God who empowers both of the antagonists.[102] The 'assistants in battle' of *ʿAql & Jahl* are Good and Evil respectively. *Al-Jahl* is awarded a certain capacity and independent action by God, and exercises a perverse self-will of his own when "he did not draw near". The figure of *al-Jahl* is clothed with elements normally associated with Iblīs in Islamic tradition, man's true adversary.[103] These include *Jahl*'s arrogant pride and disobedience, his enmity or jealousy towards *ʿAql*, his being granted a kind of respite by God through his empowerment with troops, and being denied God's Mercy. However, the fact that here *al-ʿAql* is created and empowered first, before *al-Jahl*, reverses the order often met with in early reports describing the creation of Adam, where Iblīs was empowered before man.[104]

Conversely, the figure of *ʿAql* is brought into relation to prophets and saints (*al-awṣiyāʾ*), the exemplars of per-

fected humanity. The real dualism is between 'Adam' and 'Iblīs' representing warring parts of human nature (*ʿaql & rūḥ vs. hawā & nafs*), belonging to that widespread stream of ontolcgical-ethical dualism quite indigenous to Semitic monotheism — which also came to embrace subordinate dualistic cosmic-soteriological aspects.[105] In brief, whatever weight one assigns to the dualism undoubtedly present in this piece, it lacks any overt cosmogonic function, and is clearly subsumed under a prevailing ethico-psychic dualism with eschatological overtones. One should also make allowance for the propensity of the Arabic tongue to express ideas through bi-polarities, coloring the imagery and terminology of this piece.[106] The conceptual distance separating the ethical dualism of al-Ṣādiq's myth from the dualism of antithetic parallelism in eg. Proverbs 10 - 15, or the Essene polarity 'Sons of Light \ Darkness', is not as great as the distance separating its ethical dualism from Iranian or Manichaean cosmogonic dualism — unless one chooses to ignore the purpose of the prologue about the creation of *ʿAql & Jahl*, namely to introduce the list of virtues and vices and outline a system for ethico-spiritual perfection leading to triumphant paradisial glory.

The dualism of Jaʿfar's narrative is best viewed as essentially an Islamic monotheist response to the threat posed by rival dualist systems in the spiritual sphere,

generally to Christian Gnosticism and specifically to the resurgence of Manichaean teaching under Islam in the first half of the second century. Al-Ṣādiq was noted for meeting the polemical attacks of dualist opponents head on, as were several of his peers (eg. Wāṣil b. ʻAṭā' d.131/748, who wrote al-Alf Mas'alah fī l-Radd ʻalā l-Mānawiyyah),[107] as well as many of al-Ṣādiq's pupils and a number of the early Muʻtazilah. If this piece indeed accurately reflects al-Ṣādiq's own teaching, then it shows him adapting selected elements of either Zoroastrian, Manichaean, or Dayṣānī dualism to his purpose. This would indicate how seriously gnostic dualism was perceived as a threat by leading Muslim thinkers in the first half of the second century. It may also have been a reflection of the composition of al-Ṣādiq's circle of disciples to whom he propounded this teaching: *mawālī* from Mesopotamia in contact with active centers of Dayṣānī teaching in Kufah, or of Manichaean practice in eg. al-Madā'in [home of ʻAlī b. Ḥadīd], or pagan-Neoplatonic centers in eg. Ḥarrān [Samāʻah's commerce took him there].[108]

Viewing al-Ṣādiq's myth of *ʻAql & Jahl* as a creative response to Manichaean or Dayṣānī dualism is consistent with what is known about the impact these teachings had during his life, and finds support in the trend of anti-Manichaean polemics before and during his lifetime.[109] The dualistic

setting and portrayal of opposing 'light | dark' principles in his myth is a rather striking example of what Stroumsa characterizes as "the Muslim interiorization of the Manichaean ethical challenge".[119] Al-Ṣādiq's originality is displayed by the manner which his ethical and theological interests shaped the mythic language and elements he appropriated and accentuated. This exemplifies a process of 'reflective mythology' where the background and parallels with other traditions must not be seen as defining the content nor the intent of his teaching.

§II C. THE 'TRIUMPH' OBTAINED BY *MA'RIFAT AL-'AQL*

Other terms and motifs found in this myth tie it directly to teachings concerning *ʿaql* known in early Islam. The theological significance inspiring the transformation of the *Aqbil!* report in this myth revolves around a balance between God's determining the human traits of *ʿAql & Jahl* before their physical existence (eg. the two *wazīrs*: Good and Evil), and individual efforts to rectify and 'improve upon' one's endowment through knowledge and growth in purity of heart. The imam's exhortation in the opening and in the concluding section for his followers to "know*cognise the troops" of both *ʿaql & jahl* is the central issue justifying the detailed listing of the pairs of troops. For it is by means of such 'cognizance' (*maʿrifah*) that the completion (*istikmāl*) of the powers of *al-ʿAql* and simultaneous

purification from the powers of *al-Jahl* is achieved. Perfection of *al-ʿAql* becomes an appropriation or recovery of a condition of 'being' present at the beginning.

Once the purified-of-heart possessed of faith complete the entirety of their traits of *al-ʿAql*, they obtain the 'great triumph' of otherworldly victory, attaining "the highest rank/*al-darajat al-ʿulyā*" on the same degree as the prophets and the saints.[111] This doxology echoes the type of thought known in early Islam, enunciated eg. by Saʿīd b. Jubayr (d.95/714), that the prophets were provided with knowledge and spiritual perception (*al-ʿilm wa l-baṣar*) :

> "...on account of the 'surpassing-excellence' of their *ʿaql*. So whomever renounced worldly pleasures and persevered in the truth, he has perfected *al-ʿaql* (*istakmala l-ʿaql*), and he is in the closest of stations and their utmost (degree)/*fī adnā l-manāzil wa aqṣāhā*. For the servants are victorious/*fāza* through self-exertions/*ijtihād*."[112]

While less explicit than al-Ṣādiq's report, Ibn Jubayr's statement holds out the possibility for an individual to reach the highest level of paradisial degrees, once they have made their *ʿaql* perfect*complete, just as the prophets. This is accomplished through *ijtihād (al-nafs)* 'self-struggle', the inner cleansing opening the way for knowledge and spiritual perception. In Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar's report where *ʿaql* is a light in the heart (ch.4 #22), *ʿaql* is

awarded men "in proportion to their deeds and their diligence and their certitude", thus rising in degrees. Significantly, al-Ṣādiq concludes by invoking divine help to achieve the *fawz*, both for himself and his disciples.

Al-Ṣādiq distinguishes between the one "whose heart God has purified for faith"[113] being at the highest degree along with prophets and saints, and between those of his disciples who, while possessing some of the traits of *al-ʿAql*, still require to complete its remaining traits by ridding themselves of the corresponding traits of *al-Jahl*. "Knowing *al-ʿAql* and his troops" is reciprocally the reverse of "shunning *al-Jahl* and his troops"; both may be said to mutually constitute the process of *maʿrifat al-ʿAql* ushering the faithful into the highest degree. This 'knowing' is nothing else than the cultivation of the virtues and the extirpation of vices from within the self, demanding that one be well acquainted with both; ie. self-knowledge and purification of heart, or virtue as the knowledge of good and evil.[114]

The ethical scheme portrayed here (a listing of opposing qualities on a binary basis) has nothing in common with the Hellenistic doctrine of the "mean between extremes" inherited by later Islamic philosophical ethics.[115] Nor does the Iranian concept of *paymān* 'right-measure' as a tool for defining virtues[116] appear to fully approximate the intent of Jaʿfar's listing. Rather, it has much in common

with Biblicist spirituality, particularly the disciplines centered on the 'unseen combat' against the 'enemy' typical of monastic spirituality.[117] The basic scheme was present in primitive Islam, glimpsed in a *qawl* attributed to Abū Hurayrah: "The heart is a ruler and it has 'troops'; when the ruler is upright his troops are righteous, and when the ruler is corrupt his troops are depraved".[118]

Parts of the above analysis may mislead one by diverting attention from the real significance of al-Ṣādiq's report, namely the pairs of traits sketching the basis of a purgative mysticism. The final chapter brings the listing of the troops of *al-ʻAql & al-Jahl* back onto center stage.

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NOTES

1. *Al-rūḥu ḥayātu l-badani wa l-ʿaqlu ḥayātu l-rūḥ*; Sajʿ al-Ḥamām, from Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *al-alf al-mukhtārah* of Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah.

2. The 'evil inclination' (*yēṣer hâ-râʿ*) and the 'good inclination' (*yēṣer hâ-tōv*); see Ephraim E. Urbach, The Sages, their Concepts and Beliefs, trans. I. Abrahams [Jerusalem 1975; Cambridge & London 1979] 472-83.

3. For a recent presentation of early Shīʿī esoteric spirituality, see Amir-Moezzi, Guide Divin. The works of Henry Corbin are particularly rich for appreciating the later working out of Imāmī and Ismāʿīlī esoteric ideas.

4. To name only two: the great Ṣafavid savant Mullā Ṣadrā (d.1050/1641), Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Kāfī [Tehran, lithograph 1283/1865] 65-104; and his pupil (also an Akhbārī), Muḥsin-i Fayḍ-i Kāshānī (d.1090/1679), Qurrat al-ʿUyūn fī l-Maʿārif wa l-Ḥikam, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Miyānjī [2nd pr., Beirut 1979] 351-56, "*fī intishā' al-makhlūqāt min al-ʿaql* On the origination of created-beings out of *al-ʿaql*". For Fayḍ-i Kāshānī, see W. Chittick, E.I.² VII 475b-6b; & M. Achena, E.I.² S 305.

5. Two recent examples: by al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Taqiy b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib al-Ḥusaynī al-Tunukābunī, Risālah fī l-ʿAql wa Bayān Iqbālihi wa Idbārih (extracted from his larger Subul al-Salām fī Maʿālim al-Islām); see Āghā Buzorg al-Ṭihrānī, al-Dharīʿah ilā Taṣānīf al-Shīʿah XII 134 #910, XV 300 #1922 & #1924. And by al-Sayyid Ḥasan

al-Ṣadr (d.1354/1936), Hidāyat al-Najdayn wa Tafḍīl al-Jundayn; mentioned by Muḥammad Bāqir Kamara'ī in the introduction to his edition of Uṣūl al-Kāfī [Tehran: Maṭba'at al-'Ilmiyyah, 1382] I 20, amongst his useful listing of commentaries, marginal supercommentaries and monographs on special problems related to al-Kulaynī's opus (18-22).

6. There is another English translation of Uṣūl's text made by the World Organization For Islamic Services (WOFIS), Al-Kāfī [Tehran 1398/1978] vol. I part 1 "The Book of Reason and Ignorance", on 49-55. See also S. Murata, The Tao of Islam 239-41.

7. For the identity of the traditionists embraced by "*'iddatun min aṣḥābinā*", see Kamara'ī, ed., Uṣūl I 26. This initial link in al-Kulaynī's *isnād* refers to his Imāmī colleagues and teachers from the school of Qumm; he frequently introduces his *riwāyah* with this phrase to specify that a report was related identically by several of his informants. W. Ivanow posits that the reason for such uniformity is that "the tradition was copied from one and the same source either because all the *rawis* concerned wrote at the same dictation, or, more likely, copied the tradition from one and the same source"; Ibn al-Qaddāḥ, the Alleged Founder of Ismā'īlism [2nd ed. Bombay 1957] 17. It is clear from the primary links in the *isnād* in all the written sources where this report occurs that the written source was al-Barqī's Maḥāsin, rather than the original *Aṣl* work of Samā'ah b. Mihrān.

8. For this great historian, see the fine work by Ahmad Shboul, Al-Mas'ūdī and his World. A Muslim Humanist and his interest in non-Muslims [London 1979]; & Ch. Pellat, "al-Mas'ūdī", E.I.² VI 784-9.

9. Mainly due to the fact that al-Mas‘ūdī nowhere refers to it in his other two surviving works; see eg. T. Khalidi, Islamic Historiography: the Histories of Mas‘ūdī [Albany 1975] 138 n.2, 163-4; & Amir-Moezzi, Guide Divin 57 n.117. Sometimes identified with al-Mas‘ūdī's al-Bayān fī Asmā' al-A'immat al-Qiṭṭ‘iyyah min al-Shī‘ah (written before 332/943); which seems improbable. Charles Pellat has discussed this work and its attribution to al-Mas‘ūdī in "Mas‘ūdī et l'Imāmisme", in the Strasbourg colloquim Le Shī‘isme Imāmite, ed. T. Fahd [Paris 1970] 69-80. In E.I.² VI 787b, Pellat summarizes the reasons for doubting its authenticity, but affirms that "the question remains open".

10. Al-Kāẓim's 'Instruction' and\or the 75 *jund* have been discussed *inter alia* by: Bāqir Sharīf al-Qurashī, Ḥayāt al-Imām Mūsā b. Ja‘far [Najaf 1389/1970] I 181-223; ‘AbdAllāh Ni‘mah, Hishām b. al-Ḥakam 242-6; S. Waḥīd Akhtar, Early Shī‘ite Imāmiyyah Thinkers [New Delhi 1988] 33-5; van Ess, Theologie I 354 & 368; Amir-Moezzi, Guide Divin 23-4; and by E. Kohlberg, "Mūsā al-Kāẓim", E.I.² VII 648a, & in his forthcoming contribution to E.Ir., "Evil in Shī‘ism".

11. ‘Alī b. Ḥadīd b. Ḥakīm al-Sābāṭī, a *mawlā* of Azd active in Kufah, a companion of the 8th and 9th imams al-Riḍā & al-Jawād; originally from al-Madā'in, where he maintained his residence. See Abū Ja‘far al-Barqī, Rijāl 55-56; R.Najāshī II 108-9 #715; R.Ṭūsī 382 #24 & 403 #11; F.Ṭūsī 89 #372; Ibn Dāwūd, Rijāl 482 (specifying he held *Fatḥiyyah* views); Tanqīh IIa 275 #8207. His family had been associated with the Ḥusaynid ‘Alids for several generations (eg. R.Ṭūsī 285 #78: his uncles Muḥammad & Muzāḥim). Deemed weak by Abū Ja‘far al-Ṭūsī, his tradition-book was relayed by al-Faḍl b. Shādhān. Yet see the reports in R.Kishshī #499 & #951 (the 8th and 9th imams express confidence in him), #s

220, 449, & 908 (where he relates concerning the heretics Abū l-Khaṭṭāb and Muḥammad b. Bashīr), and #955 (where al-Kishshī criticizes the Qummī traditionists who accused ʿAlī b. Ḥadīd of being a partisan of Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, or secretly nurturing a preference for the teaching of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam).

12. Abū Nāshirah (or Abū Muḥammad) Samāʿah b. Mihrān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, a Kufan *mawlā* of ʿAbd b. Wā'il b. Ḥujr al-Ḥaḍramī, or a *mawlā* of Khawlān of Ḥaḍramawt; al-Barqī, Rijāl 44 & 48; R.Najāshī I 431-3 #515; R.Ṭūsī 214 #196, 351 #4 (associate of al-Ṣādiq & al-Kāẓim); Tanqīh IIa 67-8 #5271; & Jarḥ IV 324 #1416 (Abū Ḥātim's cautious approval: *shaykh Kūfī, arā ḥadīthahu mustaqīman*). There does not appear to by any mention of Samāʿah's father in the sources.

He was sometimes confused with the grandfather of the Kufan banker and prolific compiler, the strident *Wāqifī* Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Samāʿah b. Mūsā b. Ruwayd b. Nashīṭ al-Ḥaḍramī al-Kindī (d.263/877; R.Najāshī I 140-3 #83, "*min shuyūkh al-Wāqifah*"; R.Ṭūsī 51-2 #182; Tanqīh I 307-8 #2738), resulting in the allegation that Samāʿah him-self held *Wāqifī* beliefs (cf. Ibn Dāwūd, Rijāl 460; R.Kishshī 477 #904). But this error was long ago noted (R.Kishshī 469 #894), and he does not appear to be related to al-Ḥasan's father, the Kufan *faqīh* & associate of al-Ṣādiq who compiled legal works, Abū ʿAbdAllāh Muḥammad b. Samāʿah b. Mūsā al-Ḥaḍramī al-Ṣayrafī (R.Najāshī II 211 #891; R.Ṭūsī 290 #164; Tanqīh III 123-4 #10816, + see #10817). This confusion may have led to Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī's claim that Samāʿah b. Mihrān was a *Wāqifī* who trans-mitted from al-Kāẓim. Yet the possibility that Samāʿah died in the second half of the 2nd century is not to be dismissed entirely.

13. *ʿIddatun min muwālīhi*; Uṣūl has: *jamāʿatun min muwālīhi*. We render *muwālīhi* (pl. of *muwālin*) his 'followers, close-friends, disciples', namely those who recognize the Imām as their personal religious guide and submit to his *walāyah* 'spiritual authority' (syn. *mutashayyiʿūn, muḥibbūn*). See Maḥāsin *k. al-ṣafwah wa l-nūr, bāb al-muwālāt fī llāhi wa l-muʿādah*, 165 #s 120 & 121; & E. Kohlberg, "Imām and Community" 32. If read *mawālīhi* (pl. of *mawlā*), the meaning would be his 'clients, freedmen', ie. non-Arab Muslims allied to the Qurashī clan of Hāshim or Jaʿfar's family.

The possibility that *mawālī* is to be read here, in the sense of *"walā' al-muwālāt"* 'contractual clientage' ("contractual agreement distinct from the act of conversion" struck between a Muslim patron and a freedman without *walā'*; P. Crone, "Mawlā", E.I.² VI 881b-2a), is quite unlikely.

14. See the discussion below §II.A, for how best to construe *ʿaql & jahl* in this report.

15. *Iʿrifū!* 'Be cognizant of' or 'Be acquainted with'; the second repetition is lacking in Uṣūl.

16. *"Lā naʿrifu illā mā ʿarraftanā"*; cf. Q 2:32, where the angels reply to God's request that they name the Names He had taught Adam ("No knowledge have we except what Thou has taught us..."). The Imām is sole source of knowledge for those under his spiritual authority (*walāyah*). This phrase itself indicates that the ambience of this report is al-Ṣādiq's personal instruction to disciples.

17. The relative clause *"khalaqahu* (which) He created" is absent from Uṣūl. Yet Maḥāsin, Ithbāt, ʿIlal, & Khiṣāl agree on this reading: *"huwa awwalu khalqin khalaqahu min*

al-rūḥāniyyīn ʿan yamīni l-ʿarshi min nūrih"; ie. from the light of the Throne, not from God's light, as van Ess (Theologie I 354: "erstes Geistwesen rechts vom Thron aus Gottes Licht geschaffen"), and Amir-Moezzi (Guide Divin 19: "...et le faisant proceder de Sa propre Lumière"), and S. Murata (Tao of Islam 240: "...from His light on the right side of His Throne") all interpret. While the reading "God's light" is certainly a natural one, we shall adduce reason why "Throne light" is more plausible. (But see Addendum D. for the issue of Throne and ʿaql.)

18. Whereas Uṣūl has: "Blessed and Exalted".

19. Reminiscent of Q 68:4 "*wa innaka la-ʿalā khuluqin ʿaẓīmin* And certainly you [Muḥammad] possess sublime moral qualities". This evocation of the Qur'ānic context juxtaposes the terms *khalq*/creature, and *khuluq*/innate moral disposition; compare eg. al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Bayān al-Kasb 183.

20. "*Akramtuka ʿalā jamīʿi khalqī*", or "I have ennobled thee..."; while Ithbāt & Uṣūl have *karramtuka* "I have exalted thee above...".

21. "*Min al-baḥri l-ujāji l-ẓulmāniy*"; ʿIlal, Ithbāt & Tuḥaf agree here with Maḥāsin, while Uṣūl & Khiṣāl have: "*al-baḥri l-ujāj ẓulmāniyyan* full of darkness from the brackish sea." Al-Ṣādiq may be drawing upon al-Bāqir's theme of the 'Two Waters', upper\sweet and lower\salt, out of which the blessed and the damned are created.

22. "*Istakbarta?*"; see Q 38:75, where the reference is to Iblīs, who disobeyed God's command to prostrate to Adam. Thus *al-Jahl* by his own self-will has insolently held him-

self above obeying God.

23. In Islamic tradition, Iblīs is never the adversary/*ḍidd* of God, but always of man; see T. Fahd, "Anges, Démons et Djinns en Islam", in Sources Orientales VIII, Genies, Anges, et Démons [Paris 1971] 155-214, on 180-1, observing that God empowers both the Devil and man against each other. Ibn Abī l-Dunyā (*ʿAql* 62 #89) gives an anonymous early exhortation from "one of the wise" where *al-ʿaql & al-hawā* are 'two adversaries' *ḍiddān*:

> "Take heed and pay attention/*iḥfaẓū wa ʿū!* Every single person has two internal rulers/*qāḍiyāni bāṭināni*, one of whom is a sincere counsellor/*nāṣiḥ*, the other a deceiver/*ghāshsh*. The sincere counsellor is *al-ʿaql*, while the deceiver is desire/*al-hawā*. The two are 'adversaries'; whichever one of the two you side with, the other is enfeebled."

Cf. above n.2.

24. "*Wa lā quwwata lī bi-hi*"; the final pronoun referent is to *al-ʿaql*.

25. "*Wa huwa wazīr al-ʿaql*", ie. in battle. The term *wazīr* was originally synonymous with *anṣār* and *ashyāʿ* (*shīʿah*), to mean "helper, propagandist" (Q 25:35, & 20:29-32 - Aaron's role for Moses); see M. Bravmann, The Spiritual Background of Early Islam [Leiden 1972] 222. For the Shīʿah, ʿAlī was *wazīr* to Muḥammad. The context is clearly the image of man's helpers popular in early wisdom maxims: "*al-ʿaqlu amīrun wa l-ʿilmu naṣīrun wa l-ḥilmu wazīrun*" (al-Karājakī, Kanz al-Fawā'id II 33, *qawl baʿḍ ʿulamā'i li-l-ʿarab*); & the famous maxim on the 'assistants' of faith (*ʿilm, ḥilm, rifq, & ṣabr*), eg. al-Ṣādiq } the Prophet:

"*ni'ma wazīru l-īmāni l-'ilm...*" (Uṣūl I 48 #3).

26. Or 'unbelief'. On this most fundamental pair, see the remarks by Bravmann, Spiritual Background 26-31 & 76f., stressing both the purely religious inner attitude and the social relationships embraced by both terms.

27. For the close link twixt *īmān* and *taṣdīq*, see ibid. 27.

28. But see the 4th pair above; Murata renders this pair as "desire \ disheartenment" (Tao of Islam 240). Despite the agreement of all texts on the order of this polarity, it appears certain that the pair was reversed very early on, and *al-ya's* 'resignation' (renouncing one's gratification of appetitive cravings) should be a recruit of *al-'Aql*, opposed to *al-ṭama'* 'greed, coveting' as a recruit of *al-Jahl*. Compare the saying of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb: "*al-ṭama'u faqrun wa l-ya'su ghinan* Greed brings poverty, and despairing (of gratifying one's desire) is a cause of freedom from want" (trans. Lexicon *ṭ.m.'.*); further, cf. Maḥāsin, *k. al-ashkāl wa l-qarā'in*, 16 #46; & Kanz al-'Ummāl III 272 #s 2449-2457 (*al-ṭama'* among the *akhlāq madhmūmah*), esp. #2454.

29. *Al-tawakkul* signifies confidence that one's needs will be met; it may be rendered "Trust in God".

30. Or 'avarice' in the sense of an anxious endeavour to satisfy one's wishes, or taking pains to acquire one's needs.

31. As in *'izzatu l-nafs* 'scornful self-exaltation'. Yet 'Ilal and Khiṣāl have *al-ghirrah* 'heedlessness' or

'inadvertency'; whereas Uṣūl has *al-qaswah* 'mercilessness, cruelty' (as adversary of *al-ra'fah*).

32. *Al-Hatk*, eg. the shame and dishonour brought on one by ravishing a woman. Uṣūl & Khiṣāl have *al-tahattuk* 'shameless immorality'.

33. *Khurq* in the sense of clumsiness or awkwardness in doing or making something, used as the antonym of *rifq*. From its root meaning of 'unskillfulness in work and in affairs' it is extended to connote 'foolishness, stupidity', as well as 'deficiency, unsoundness in understanding'. Note the maxim attributed to the *Jāhilī* sage al-Aktham b. Ṣayfī: "*al-jahlu quwwatun li-l-khurq [al-khariq?] wa l-khurq quwwatun li-l-ghaḍab*"; Abū l-Shaykh al-Iṣbahānī, Amthāl 257.

34. Uṣūl has *al-jur'ah*, with no change in meaning.

35. Uṣūl has *al-kibr* 'arrogant pride'.

36. A quality long associated with *ʿaql*, just as loose talk was deemed the mark of the fool. Yet eloquent speech was also deemed the mark of the wise; see the anonymous maxim invoked by a certain Abū Ḥasanah al-ʿĀbid: *kāna yuqālu "al-ṣamt nawmu l-ʿaqli wa l-manṭiq yaqẓatuhu"* (ʿAql 66 #102). Cf. Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān: "*al-ṣamt nawmun wa l-nuṭq yaqẓah*"; ʿIqd al-Farīd II 305 > Bahjat al-Majālis I 55.

37. Uṣūl has *al-shakk* 'doubt, uncertainty', as the opponent of *al-taslīm*. However Maḥāsin (also ʿIlal & Khiṣāl) follows this 23rd pair by three pairs absent from Uṣūl (= #24 - #26), suggesting either that they crept into

al-Barqī's text after al-Kulaynī's era, or more likely attesting to the early transmission of two basic versions of the traits.

38. Taking *faqr* (pl. *fuqur*) in the sense of anxious or disquieting wants or circumstances aroused by craving material things. Recall the early maxim "*lā māla aʿwadu min al-ʿaql, wa lā faqra ashaddu min al-jahl*". Like many other pairs in this list, there is a subtle transposition of the 'normal' polarity between the opposing traits towards a more interior vista.

39. Some Mss. of Uṣūl have *al-tadhakkur* 'recollected attentiveness, remembrance', which perhaps better serves as the antonym of *al-sahw* 'forgetfulness, neglectfulness'; both Kamara'ī, Uṣūl II 32, and ʿIlal 114, prefer this reading.

40. In a work written by the Ḥijāzī *adīb* Abū l-Walīd ʿĪsā b. Yazīd Ibn Da'b (fl. under Caliph Mūsā al-Hādī rg. 169/785 - 170/786), listing seventy virtuous qualities/*khaṣlah* of imam ʿAlī with their detailed *sharḥ* (many of which are similar to al-Ṣādiq's 75 *jund*), *ḥifẓ* is aligned with *ʿaql* in the sense of 'hearing attention': "*wa l-ḥifẓ wa huwa lladhī tusammīhi l-ʿarabu l-ʿaqla ḥattā sanmā udhunan waʿīyatan*"; al-Mufīd, Ikhtiṣāṣ 144-60, on 145.

41. Both terms of this pair concern relations towards one's kin or group; *qaṭīʿat al-raḥim* 'severance of blood ties' was a cardinal sin for the old Arabs, eg. Ibn al-Mubārak, Zuhd 252 #724. Contrast the 80th pair below.

42. See the 9th pair above: *al-ḥirṣ* opposed to *al-tawakkul*. *Al-Qunūʿ* here connotes a temperate satisfaction

or frugality, as opposed to avarice.

43. Bravmann, Spiritual Background 84 n.2: *balā'* as "what one experiences, suffers, endures".

44. The doctrine of Love and Hate for God's sake was an important feature of the teaching of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq; see our M.A. thesis (1980), "The Teaching of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq", 158-9 n.128.

45. Cf. Q 2:42, 8:8, 17:81. Al-Ṣādiq stressed the dichotomy in history of two realms: *dawlat al-ḥaqq / dawlat al-bāṭil* (Crow, "The Teaching of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq" 169 n.147).

46. Bravmann, Spiritual Background 30: "The relationship between the offer of security and the feeling of security resulting from it is a reciprocal one, and so we see that the term *amān* or *amānah* comprises both 'security' ('freedom from fear') and 'promise of security, protection'...".

47. Kamara'ī, ed. Uṣūl II 32, notes that this pair and the next (#s 46 & 47) are absent in some Mss. of Uṣūl. See the 13th pair: *al-fahm* is opposed to *al-ḥumq* ('stupidity', ie. 'incapacity to comprehend'). Here, *al-fahm* ('ready-witted insight') opposes *al-ghabāwah* ('stupid simple-mindedness'); cf. the 45th pair.

48. *Al-mudārāh* connotes a sociability intended to gain the good-will of others through actions which induce friendly feeling, while *al-mukāshafah* is the naked display of enmity resulting in ill-feeling and estrangement. *Al-mudārāh* thus implies *ḥilm*, and *al-mukāshafah* implies *jahl*.

Recall Luqmān's dictum: "*mudārātu l-nās niṣfu l-ʿaql* friendliness towards people comprises half of *al-ʿaql* [= 'good-manners, decorum']"; Ibn Fātik, Mukhtār al-Ḥikam 273; cf. similar statements by al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim in Uṣūl II 243 #s 2, 4, & 5.

49. In the same sense as *salāmat al-nīyah*. *Al-ghībah* denotes 'slander, calumny'; cf. the expression *bi-ẓahr al-ghayb* 'back-biting'; and see Ibn al-Mubārak, Zuhd 252 #723 & 245 #704, for the Prophet's definition of *ghībah*.

50. *Al-kitmān* denotes self-restraint in the suppression of knowledge. When the knowledge being suppressed is damaging to others, then *kitmān* is praiseworthy (eg. keeping quiet about another's fault); or *kitmān* may be viewed as a cardinal virtue synonymous with *ḥifẓ al-sirr* 'not divulging one's private secrets to others'; see Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, Ṣamt 449-53 #s 407 & 409. But when knowledge suppressed is true and obligatory, then hiding it is a blameworthy trait (eg. *kitmān al-shahādah*, not speaking out as a witness if what one knows will help an innocent person).

Perhaps al-Ṣādiq hints at a cardinal tenet of the early Shīʿah, *kitmān al-sirr* 'concealment of the secret' [ie. of Shīʿī beliefs], in the sense of suppressing the esoteric teaching from those incapable of understanding and accepting it; see I. Goldziher, "Das Prinzip der Takijja im Islam", ZDMG LX/1906/213-26, on 218-24, where he invokes al-Ṣādiq on the marks of the true *shīʿah* (221: "...*wa kitmān sirrihi jihād fī sabīli llāhi*"). For the difference between *kitmān* and *taqiyyah* 'dissimulation', see E. Kohlberg, "Taqiyya in Shīʿī Theology and Religion", in Secrecy and Concealment, ed. H.A. Kippenberg & G.G. Stroumsa [Leiden 1995] 345-80, on 346, & 351-68.

51. During the Pilgrimage, the pilgrim kisses the Black Stone set into the eastern corner of the *Kaʿbah*, symbolically renewing the covenant which Abraham, the first builder of the temple, made with God.

52. *Al-ʿuqūq* denotes the breaking of ties and renouncing of one's duties to one's blood-kin; its antonym is *barra* or *waṣala l-raḥima* (Bravmann, Spiritual Background 77). Cf. the 32nd pair. An esoteric reading might construe the *wālidān* as Muḥammad and ʿAlī, the two spiritual 'fathers' of the Shīʿah. *Ṣilat al-raḥim* was often placed at the head of the *akhlāq* in the genre of religious *adab*; eg. al-Bukhārī, al-Adab al-Mufrad, & al-Bayhaqī, al-Ādāb.

53. *Al-Ḥaqīqah* in the sense of outer manifestations according with one's actual reality; *al-riyā'* connoting 'simulation', making a show before people, thus hypocrisy. Cf. imam al-Kāẓim's statement in his Instruction to Hishām: "... the one whose words agree with his deeds, and his secret thoughts are in accord with his outward manifestations"; Tuḥaf 286 > Biḥār I 139. Or the final trait of the *akhlāq al-ḥakīm* listed by Luqmān: "...*yuwāfiqu sirruhu ʿalāniyyatahu wa qawluhu fiʿlahu*"; Mukhtār al-Ḥikam 268; and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's reported praise of ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd; al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, Ṭabaqāt > Iʿtizāl 245.

54. The well-known pair of opposites reiterated in the Qur'ān (eg. 22:41), and taken as a primary duty in Islam; see W. Madelung, "Amr Be Maʿrūf", E.Ir. I 992f. *Munkar* often is synonymous with *majhūl*, denoting any action disapproved of or disallowed by sound minds.

55. *Al-Sitr* connotes 'hiding or concealing one's merits', involving a form of self-constraint; it is used as

a synonym for *al-ʿaql* (*satura* 'he was\became intelligent'); while *al-tabarruj* is 'conspicuous ostentation'.

56. See the 50th & 55th pairs above; for the specifically Shīʿī connotations of *taqiyyah* / *idhāʿah*, see Goldziher, "Das Prinzip der Takijja" 216 n.3; and E. Kohlberg, "Some Imāmī-Shīʿī views on Taqiyya" JAOS XCV/1975/395-402; & idem, "Taqiyya in Shīʿī Theology and Religion".

57. Cf. Q 48:26, where the *ḥamiyyat al-jāhiliyyah* of the disbelievers is contrasted with the self-restraint and God-mindfulness (*al-taqwā*) of the Prophet and the faithful. *Al-Inṣāf* involves self-restraint; eg. "*inṣāf al-nās min nafsika* interacting with people equitably by deflecting from them the wayward reactions of one's outer manifestations".

58. Cf. Q 9:47 "*la-qad ibtaghū l-fitnata* They seek (to stir up) discord".

59. Uṣūl has *al-qadhar*.

60. The printed texts of ʿIlal & Khiṣāl agree with Maḥāsin (& with some Mss. of Uṣūl) in reading *al-khalʿ* or *khalaʿ*, the immodest and brazen display of one's private parts by divesting one's garments; cf. *khalaʿa ʿidhārahu* 'he threw off his restraint and acted in a shameful and provocative manner towards others'. The printed text of Uṣūl reads *al-jalaʿ* 'impudent shamelessness'. Both are proper antonyms for *al-ḥayā'*, the self-restraint underlying the attitude of modest reserve or pudency, a trait very commonly linked with *ʿaql* ('proper decorum' or moral-intelligence) in the literature of the *akhlāq*.

61. Often contrasted with *ḥuzūnah* 'rough, difficult'; here *al-Suhūlah* does not appear to carry the meaning of *musāhalah* 'acting with gentleness towards others'. Compare al-Ṣādiq's saying: *"min ziyyi l-īmāni l-fiqhu, wa min ziyyi l-fiqhi l-ḥilmu, wa min ziyyi l-ḥilmi l-rifqu, wa min ziyyi l-rifqi l-līnu, wa min ziyyi l-līni l-suhūlah"*; Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī, Amālī I 192.

62. See the 39th pair above.

63. Kamara'ī (ed. Uṣūl II 33) notes that this 69th pair is lacking in some Mss.; as well as the 46th & 47th pairs (above n.47). He is thus able to count "seventy-five" pairs by reckoning these three pairs as later interpolations into the text of Uṣūl. When coupled with the fact that pairs #24 - #26 found in Maḥāsin are also absent from Uṣūl (above n.37), this might adequately explain the differing numbers in the two basic versions.

64. Some Mss. of Uṣūl have *al-mukāsharah* 'jeering, mocking, scoffing', instead of *al-mukātharah*. *Al-mukātharah* connotes "contending with others in order to amass the chattels of this world in excess of the prerequisite amount" [Lexicon *k.th.r.*]. Thus, *al-qawām* here signifies 'integrity in one's dealings with others in the pursuit of livelihood or sustenance'.

65. *Al-Ḥikmah* 'wisdom, intelligence' (a synonym for *al-ʿaql*), in the sense of constraining one's natural inclinations; cf. verbs *ḥakama* & *aḥkama* 'to prevent, restrain', & *ḥakamah* 'bit' of a horse's bridle. Both Maḥāsin & Khiṣāl agree in reading *al-Hawā* 'blameable desire, unchecked inclination'; Uṣūl has *al-hawā'*, which is either an alternative script for *al-hawā*, or a corruption for the plural *al-*

ahwā' 'natural desires, blameable inclinations'. ʿIlal's *al-naqāwah* 'purity', is a misprint or mistranscription.

66. The printed text of Khiṣāl has *al-shaqā'*.

67. *Al-Tawbah* connotes forswearing*renouncing sin and turning penitently to God. While *al-Iṣrār* connotes self-willed persistence in committing sin or disobedience, and an obstinate refusal to turn contritely to God or to admit the wrongfulness of one's actions; eg. "*aṣarra ʿalā l-dhanbi* he persisted in the act of sin".

68. *Al-Ightirār* signifies negligence in seeking pardon or forgiveness, being boldly inconsiderate; cf. *ghirratun bi-llāhi* 'boldness against God'.

69. Ithbāt & Maḥāsin agree in reading *al-ʿAṣabiyyah,* that fanatic partisanship among members of a separate group inculcating hostility towards outsiders. Uṣūl (also ʿIlal & Khiṣāl) has as the opponent of *al-Ulfah* its antonym *al-Furqah* 'disunion, separation', ie. abandoning unity with the larger congregation. Yet Fayḍ-i Kāshānī, Maḥajjat I 176 (following closely the text of al-Kulaynī) has *al-ʿAṣabiyyah* as the adversary of *al-Ulfah.* Al-Ṣādiq is known to have repeatedly urged his followers not to withdraw from the unity of the Muslim community, and to maintain amicable relations (*mudārāt, mujāmalah*) with the persecutors and enemies of ʿAlid rights; see E. Kohlberg, "Taqiyya in Shīʿī Theology" 363-4.

70. "*Wa lā takmulu hādhihi l-khiṣāl kulluhā min ajnādi l-ʿaql*"; while Uṣūl reads: "*fa-lā yajtamiʿu* ... (God) does not assemble". Yet the edition of Uṣūl by Kamara'ī (also ?

ʿIlal, Khiṣāl, & the 'Instruction' of al-Kāẓim) reads: "*fa-lā tajtamiʿu* These traits are not assembled entirely...".

71. "*Mu'min qad imtaḥana llāhu qalbahu li-l-īmān* ...whose heart God has 'purified' [afflicted with trials & tribulations so as to test] for faith." See Q 49:3 "they whose hearts God has purified for righteousness/*imtaḥana llāhu qulubahum li-l-taqwā*".

72. "*Wa ammā sā'ir dhālika min muwālīnā*"; thus in Maḥāsin, Uṣūl, ʿIlal, & Khiṣāl. However, the version in the Instruction of imam al-Kāẓim, and that quoted by al-Masʿūdī (Ithbāt 11), employ the term *mu'minīna* 'the faithful' in place of *muwālīnā*. Is al-Ṣādiq referring to those of his followers not present, thus including his listeners among the *mu'minūn* of purified hearts? موالي = مؤمن

73. Al-Kāẓim's Instruction makes it explicit: "without the presence in him of some of these troops from the army of al-ʿAql".

74. "*Ḥattā yastakmila wa yattaqī min al-jahl*", (and so ʿIlal); while Uṣūl & Khiṣāl have: "...*wa yunaqqā min junūdi l-jahl* and is purified of the troops of Folly". However, the Instruction is more explicit: "*ḥattā yastakmila l-ʿaqla wa yatakhallaṣa min junūdi l-jahl*"; while Ithbāt has "*ṣafā min*".

75. "*Wa innamā yudriku al-fawza bi-maʿrifati l-ʿaql*"; this may also be rendered: "But the triumph is obtained/*yudraku al-fawzu*..."; cf. "*al-fawzu l-ʿaẓīmu* the mighty triumph", in Q 4:13, 6:16, 9:88, & 40:9. Khiṣāl agrees with Maḥāsin in reading *al-fawz*; while Uṣūl has:

"*yudraku\yudriku dhālika bi-maʿrifati l-ʿaql* that is reached\he attains that [ie. completion of his traits] only by knowing *al-ʿAql*." ʿIlal alone reads: "*yudriku al-ḥaqqa* he attains true possession [or: 'The Real\God'?]".

76. Knowledge Triumphant 23. With respect to the problem of determining originality vs. banality, M. Foucault points out that assessing the merit of the 'originality' of a text can have meaning "only in very precisely defined series" whose limits and domains are established in "sufficiently homogeneous discursive fields"; Archaeology of Knowledge [New York 1972] 143-4. It is in this context (the trajectory of enrichment of meanings of the *Aqbil!* reports) that 'originality' is used here.

77. The term is Elisabeth S. Fiorenza's, in her study "Wisdom Mythology and the Christological Hymns of the New Testament", in R.L. Wilken, ed., Aspects of Wisdom in Judaism and Early Christianity [Notre Dame 1975] 17-41, on 26-30. "'Reflective mythology' is not a living myth but is rather a form of theology appropriating mythical language, material, and patterns, motifs, and configurations for its own theological concerns. Such a theology is not interested in reproducing the myth itself or the mythic materials as they stand, but rather in taking up and adapting the various mythical elements to its own theological goal and theoretical concerns" (29). This notion better explains what many scholars studying the development of Wisdom traditions often refer to as the "mixing of motifs" or "mythical revision" in terms of background or influence, yet which is more profitably to be viewed as "theological reflection using the language and features of myth in the mode of 'reflective mythology'" (ibid. 30).

78. The Sectarian Milieu [Oxford 1978]. Yet the use of his model to construct a hypothetical Arab monotheism of the first century AH (alongside of the general Judaeo-Christian sectarian environment), from whose "prophetical *logia*" the Qur'ān was later canonized after 150 AH, requires a dogmatic distrust of the value of a critical use of Islamic literary sources that is unjustified in our experience. An example of this hypothesis would be Yehuda D. Nevo, "Towards a Prehistory of Islam", JSAI XVII/1994/108-41. Let us not discard the quilt for fear of bedbugs.

79. If one accepts the closely argued hypothesis of Michel Tardieu, "Sabiens Coraniques et <Sabiens> de Ḥarrān", Journal Asiatique CCLXXIV/1986/1-44, that the site of Ḥarrān, a well-known center of late paganism in Parapotamia, was also the last holdout of the Platonic academy of Athens being the place where the Neoplatonist philosopher Simplicius finally settled. For the role of Ḥarrān, see Theologie II 442-9.

80. Eg. al-Shahrastānī, Milal I 676. The Rasā'il of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* mentions spiritual beings (*rūḥāniyyūn*) and angels (*amlāk*) who have the divine mission of maintaining the world and turning the spheres and course of the stars (star-sphere = inwardly an angel); S. Diwald, Arabische Philosophie und Wissenschaft 75. Ibn al-Nadīm (F.Nadīm 402) ascribes to Bar Dayṣān several writings, including a Kitāb al-Nūr wa l-Ẓulmah "Book on Light and Darkness", and a Kitāb Rūḥāniyyat al-Ḥaqq "Book on the Spiritualacy of 'Truth\The Real'" (?); cf. P.O. Skjærvø, E.Ir. III 780b; Theologie I 427.

81. Repercussions of the Kalām in Jewish Philosophy [Cambridge, MA 1979] 128-29, citing the Ga'ōn's Ēmunot wē-

De'ot (al-Mukhtār fī l-Amānāt wa l-I'tiqādāt, ed. S. Landauer [Leiden 1880]), I.3 p.70; & trans. S. Rosenblatt, The Book of Beliefs and Opinions [Yale Judaica Series I, New Haven 1948] 53-5. For Sa'adyā, see P.-B. Fenton, E.I.² VIII 661a-2a. Did such thinkers belong to the circle of the Neoplatonist Isaac Israeli, or to the Tiberian and Iraqi circles within which Sa'adyā studied? Or did their conception of the "*rūḥāniyyūn*" = Wisdom have any links with schismatic Islamic movements (eg. Shī'ī thinkers), whose impact on Rabbinical Judaism of the time Sa'adyā opposed?

82. Repercussions 128. Sa'adyā argues that the priority assigned to Wisdom in Prov. 8:22 is that of a created thing, not a coeternal hypostasis, ie. that Wisdom is one of God's creatures. Further, see Sa'adyā's translation-commentary on Job 40:19, in L.E. Goodman's trans. from the Arabic text, The Book of Theodicy [Yale Judaica Series XXV, New Haven 1988] 403 ("'*The Lord possessed me [wisdom] first among His ways*' means that God created it first"), & 405 n.8. Yet long before, the Hellenistic Jewish Philo of Alexandria had linked *sophia* and *logos* together in an illuminative mysticism where the content and the means of saving knowledge are identical, but this precedent had more significance for Gnostic and later Patristic thought than Rabbinic.

83. Thus in al-Bāqir's report on the creation of Adam's body, both the Archangels *Isrāfīl, Mikhā'īl, & Jibrā'īl* whom God places amidst the heavens (*fī-mā bayna aṭbāqi l-samāwāt*, ie. beneath the Throne realm), and below them the *Jinn*, are referred to as winged *rūḥāniyyūn*; Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā', ed. Gh.-R. 'Irfāniyān Yazdī [Mashhad & Beirut 1989] 35-40 #1, on 36.

84. See Amir-Moezzi, Guide Divin 18 n.8, 85 + n.178:

"*al-rūḥāniyyūn min ahli l-samāwāti wa l-arḍ*" as the 'shadow-bodies' of the future inhabitants of heaven and earth, including Prophets, Imāms, and the *mu'minūn*. The link between the 'faithful' and *nūr* is an early feature; eg. Maḥāsin, *k. al-ṣafwah wa l-nūr, bāb khalaqa llāhu l-mu'mina min nūrih*, 131-2 (eg. #2, al-Bāqir: "*Allāh...ajrā fī l-mu'mini min rīḥa rūḥi llāhi...*"), & #3 (al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿUmar } al-Ṣādiq: "*Allāh...khalaqa l-mu'mina min nūr ʿaẓamatihi wa jalāli kibriyā'ihi...*" = Maḥāsin, *k. ʿiqāb al-aʿmāl*, 100 #70). Is al-Ṣādiq's depiction of the faithful-elect created out of the light of God's *ʿaẓamah & kibriyā'*, consistent with *al-ʿAql* created of Throne light, or does this point to their creation out of God's own light?

85. Mullā Ṣadrā, Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Kāfī 65, glossed *al-rūḥāniyyīn* in al-Ṣādiq's myth to be: "*al-jawāhir al-nūrāniyyat allatī wujūduhā ghayru mutaʿalliqīn bi-l-ajsām* the luminous essences which are not conditioned by bodies". For the general tone of later Imāmī philosophical treatments of the non-materiality of Intellect (*ʿAql*), where *al-ʿAql al-Awwal* as First Emanation is not body, matter, form, soul, nor accident, see eg. Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī (d.726/1325), Kashf al-Murād fī Sharḥ Tajrīd al-Iʿtiqād [Qumm n.d.] part II, ch. 4.

86. For Hishām, 'man' is both spirit and body, the body itself being inanimate, while the spirit is a light which comprises the faculty of acting (*al-fāʿilah*), of perception (*al-darrākah*), and of sensation (*al-ḥassāsah*); al-Ashʿarī, Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn, ed. Ritter [2nd pr., Wiesbaden 1963] I 61 & II 331; *al-Qāḍī* ʿAbd al-Jabbār, Mughnī XI 310 (*wa l-rūḥ huwa l-faʿʿālu l-mudriku li-l-ashyā' wa huwa nūrun min al-anwār*); & van Ess' treatment in Theologie I 365-9, esp. on 368. M.A.M. DeAngelis, "The Collected Fragments of

Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam" [PhD. New York University 1974] 94 n.14, cautions that "the sources do not seem to connect the discussion on sense and estimation to intellect, nor is there any separate discussion of functions of the soul"; see her notes to fragments #s 34a, 37, & 38.

87. Al-Mufīd, Ikhtiṣāṣ > Biḥār I *Kitāb al-ʿaql*, 98 #12 (without *isnād*). How best to construe *min* here is unclear; perhaps in the sense of 'pertaining to' or 'including'; construing it as *li-l-taʿlīl* (to assign the reason) seems forced and intended to escape objectionable implications (see ibid. n.1).

88. The theory of **Amr** (identified with God's Will and the *Kalimah* 'Word') acting as intermediary between the Creator God and the First Intellect, is found in the Arabic original of the long version of the so-called Theology of Aristotle, as well as among classical Ismāʿīliyyah thinkers; see S. Pines, "Amr", E.I.² I 449b-50a.

89. See the reports in ʿIlal, *bāb 96*, 107-8 #5 > Ibn Bābawayh, Khiṣāl 207 > Tuḥaf 260-1, & extract in al-Mufīd, Ikhtiṣāṣ 109; and ʿIlal, *bāb 96*, 108-9 #6 > Tuḥaf 260. The four powers might evoke the Hermetic "four faculties of thought, consciousness, memory, and foresight [*animus, sensus, memoria, providentia*] by means of which he knows all things divine" (Asclepius §10-11). Or they may ultimately reach back to platonising-Neopythagorean teachings; eg. Iamblichus identified four powers of the soul (intellect, science, opinion, & sensation); see Dominic J. O'Meara, Pythagoras Revived: Mathematics and Philosophy in Late Antiquity [Oxford 1989], Appendix I 218-29 "The Excerpts from Iamblichus' On Pythagoreanism V-VII in Psellus", text 224 > trans. 225.

90. Eg. Hebrews 4:14f., Jesus is seated at God's right hand on the throne of Grace; in Eth.Enoch 45:3 it is the 'son of man' who sits on the throne of judgement; in Wis.Sol. 9:4 wisdom itself occupies the throne. While for the Rabbis the throne is a pre-cosmic work, 'throne' also connotes the highest class of angelic powers (eg. Slav.Enoch 20:1); see O. Schmitz, "*thronos*", Kittel's TDNT III 160-7. On the theme of the superiority of the 'right', see J. Chelhod, "A Contribution to the Problem of the Pre-eminence of the Right, Based upon Arabic Evidence", in Right & Left: Essays on Dual Symbolic Classification, ed. R. Needham [Chicago 1973] 239-62.

One report from Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Thaqafī } al-Bāqir } 'raised' to the Prophet, describes the *shīʿat ʿAlī* as celestial folk on the right side of God's Throne seated on 'pulpits of light': "*inna ʿan yamīni l-ʿarshi qawman wujūhuhum min nūrin ʿalā manābir min nūrin yaghbiṭuhum al-nabiyyūna (wa l-mursalūna) laysū bi-anbiyāʾa wa lā shuhadāʾa... ūlāʾika shīʿatu ʿAliyyin wa ʿAlī imāmuhum*"; Maḥāsin, *k. al-ṣafwah, bāb shīʿatinā aqrabu l-khalqi min Allāh*, 181-2 #s 175 & 176 (cf. above n.84). This early Muslim eschatological motif of the saints enthroned on 'pulpits of light' in heaven being envied by the prophets, was of course not confined to the Shīʿah. = حديث الغبطة

91. See above ch.4 n.23. Van Ess identifies *al-ʿAql* in al-Ṣādiq's myth as a 'hypostasis' of "Reason-Understanding" (*Verstand*), and *al-Jahl* as "Ignorance" (*Unwissenheit*); Theologie I 354. He distinguishes this meaning from the sense in which *ʿaql* is employed throughout the Instruction of al-Kāẓim to Hishām, involving *ʿilm* and intelligence in human choice and acts; ibid.: "die hohe Rolle der Vernunft (*ʿaql*) für das menschliche Handeln".

92. See in particular H. Jaeger, "Patristic Conception of Wisdom" 95-6.

93. An early example (after 350 B.C.E.) of such a personification of abstract notions is 'Lady Wisdom' and her counterpart 'Lady Folly' in Proverbs 9:13 & 16. One of the main trajectories of this contrast was in the internalized sapiential ethical dualism of the Two Spirits of 'truth' vs. 'deceit', as found in Qumran or in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs; see below n.105, & ch.4 n.23. The early Wisdom Christology of the '*Q*' materials, Gospel of Thomas, and certain New Testament traditions (eg. in Matthew's Gospel) represents a trajectory employing personified Wisdom which stands closer to Wis.Sol. than to Philo.

94. See al-Ṣādiq's comment on this verse, quoted from al-Sulamī's Ḥaqā'iq al-Tafsīr by P. Nwyia, "Le *Tafsīr* mystique attribué a Ǧa'far Ṣādiq", MUSJ XLIII/1968/181-230, on 198: "this refers to the 'troops' of *al-yaqīn wa l-thiqatu bi-l-llāhi wa l-tawakkul ʿalā llāh*"; and Nwyia's comments on al-Ṣādiq's interiorisation of this theme of 'invisible hosts' in Exégèse Coranique et Language Mystique [Beirut 1970] 161.

95. T. Fahd, "Anges, Démons et Djinns" 180f.; see al-Bukhārī, *bāb ṣifat Iblīs wa junūduh*; & for Twelver traditions see Biḥār, *k. al-samā' wa l-ʿālam, bāb dhikr Iblīs*, LXIII 131-347. The title of a lost book from al-Barqī's Maḥāsin was K. Aḥādīth al-Jinn wa Iblīs (R.Najāshī I 206; but F.Ṭūsī 21 = K. Bad' Khalq Iblīs wa l-Jinn).

Some reports place Iblīs after his expulsion from heaven as enthroned either on the waters, or in the seventh\lowest earth, where at determined times he receives the reports of his troops (Kaʿb al-Aḥbār: "...*ya'tīhi junūduhu bi-l-akhbār*

wa la-hu zamānun yursilu fī-hi"); Maṭālib III *k. bad' al-khalq* 265-6 #3447 (from al-Ḥārith's Musnad). For this prolongation of the myth of *Sabaoth* see al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj al-Dhahab I 29; pseudo-Mas'ūdī, Akhbār al-Zamān [Cairo 1938] 34, 41, & 71; Ibn Shahrāshūb, Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib IV 257; & G. Vajda, "Judaeo-Arabica - 3", Revue des Études Juives CI/1937/94-5 ("Le Diable dans la Mer", eg. Ḥilyat II 29).

96. Eg. al-Bukhārī, *al-anbiyā', bāb 2: "al-arwāḥu junūdun mujannadah..."*; & Concordance I 385.

97. C. Colpe, "Anpassung des Manichäismus an den Islam (Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq)", ZDMG CIX/1959/82-91, on 83f. Compare the Pahlavi term *petyārag* 'adversary' commonly employed for ethical and religious contrasts between virtues and vices in Iranian wisdom; see Dēnkard VI > Shaul Shaked, Wisdom of the Sasanian Sages (Dēnkard VI) [Boulder, CO 1979] §s 5, 24b, A4, & B14-B46. Yet cf. above n.23.

98. Shaked observes that the Zoroastrian creation myth "is based on an implicit assumption that the devil, Ahreman, is true to his word: once he has concluded an agreement with Ohrmazd, he is incapable of breaking it"; Dualism in Transformation, Varieties of Religion in Sasanian Iran [London 1994] 24.

99. Amir-Moezzi detects "troubling" similarities between these aspects of *'aql & jahl* in al-Ṣādiq's myth, and the late Zoroastrian notion of the perpetual combat between 'innate wisdom' (*āsn-xrad*) and 'ignorance' (*dūs-āgāhīh*); Guide Divin 20 n.13. While he discusses al-Ṣādiq's myth under the rubric "la dimension cosmogonique du *'aql*", he distinguishes the notion of *'aql* present in this myth from the Greek conception of Intellect, "où nulle substance ni

même nulle disposition n'est opposée à l'intellect et où l'ignorance est simplement l'absence de forme dans ce dernier" (ibid.). Amir-Moezzi further perceives ethical and soteriological points of similarity between Greek ideas and al-Ṣādiq's myth.

Compare the personification in Pahlavi sources of 'Evil Mind' or 'disobedience' (*Akōman*, the fiendish opposite of *Wahman* 'Good Mind'), who comes from darkness and is among the first to be created by *Ahreman*, being opposed to *Vohu Manō* in battle; J. Duchesne-Guillemin, E.Ir. I 728b-30a; & Shaked, Dualism in Transformation, Appendix D "Some Terms Relating to Man in Pahlavi" 146f. Dēnkard VI states that the body and vital soul of *Ahreman* is from 'ignorance' (*dūs-āgāhīh*); Shaked, Sasanian Sages §E40. Similarly, in al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr attributed to the gifted Persian *mawlā* and secretary for ʿAbbāsid Caliphs, ʿAbdAllāh Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (d. ca. 137/755), the Devil is opposed to *ʿilm*, and his spirit and body said to be composed of ignorance ("*ḥayātu l-shayṭān tarku l-ʿilm wa rūḥuhu wa jasaduhu l-jahl*"); ed. M. Kurd ʿAlī, Rasā'il al-Bulaghā', on 25. For the Zoroastrianism of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ before his conversion to Islam, see Shaked, "From Iran to Islam: notes on some themes in transmission", JSAI IV/1984/31-67, on 50f. > Zoroastrian Iran to Islam VI.

100. "The Notions *Mēnōg* and *Gētīg* in the Pahlavi Texts and their Relation to Eschatology", Acta Orientalia XXXIII/1971/59-107 > Zoroastrian Iran to Islam II.

101. See Shaked, "Some Notes on Ahreman, the Evil Spirit, and His Creation", in Zoroastrian Iran to Islam III. This aspect of Mazdean thought forms a basic contrast to the Manichaean identification of matter with evil and their 'material' conception of spirit; see Shkand-Gumānīg-Wizār, trans. E.W. West in Pahlavi Texts III, ch. XVI p.243f.

102. This feature is not consonant with the teaching of Bar Dayṣān (d.222 CE) as found in Arabic literary sources, stressing "the inactive quality of darkness" as "lifeless and inactive" and constrained by its very nature to evil, unlike the Light which chooses good freely and intentionally; Skjærvø, E.Ir. III 781a & 784a. Further: F.Nadīm 402; al-Shahrastānī, Milal I 638-42 > trans. G. Monnot, Religions I 667-8; G. Vajda, "Le Témoignage d'al-Māturīdī sur la doctrine des Manichéens, des Dayṣānites et des Marcionites", Arabica XI/1964/1-38 & 113-28, on 28-30; & W. Madelung, "Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq über die Bardesaniten, Marcioniten und Kantaer", Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients, Festschrift B. Spuler [Leiden 1981] 210-24, on 213.

In contrast, Mani "represents darkness as something evil and active, full of strife, which of itself rises and...sees the light and wants to possess it and so attacks it"; E.Ir. III 784a. In al-Shahrastānī's account of Zoroastrian dualism, a number of creation myths are reviewed, including non-orthodox and Zurvanic, which give an active role to the Devil\evil; see Milal I 569-82 > trans. Monnot, Religions I 633-41; & trans. Shaked, "Some Islamic Reports Concerning Zoroastrianism", JSAI XVII/1994/43-84, on 52-59.

103. Esoteric Shīʿī teachings cast in the form of wisdom discourses by al-Ṣādiq to his chief disciple al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿUmar al-Juʿfī contain explicit statements equating Iblīs with *al-jahl*; see al-Haft al-Sharīf, ed. ʿĀrif Tāmir [Beirut 1964], 53: "*inna Iblīsa wa dhurriyyatahu jāhilūna khuliqu min al-jahl wa l-maʿṣiyah... wa khalaqa l-mu'minīna min rūḥi l-ḥayāt*"; & 70 "*wa maʿnā Iblīs fī nafsihi huwa al-jahl.*" Ṣūfī tradition has al-Ṣādiq speak of the *iqbāl & idbār* of *al-jahl*; see the 'century' of scholia assigned to al-Ṣādiq = Miṣbāḥ al-Sharīʿah wa Miftāḥ al-Ḥaqīqah [Beirut 1980] 75: "*al-jahlu ṣūratun rukkibat fī banī Ādama iqbāluhā ẓulmah wa*

idbāruhā nūr..." (*per* the reading in Biḥār I 93 #25). For more about *Iblīs*, see P. Awn, Satan's Tragedy and Redemption: Iblīs in Ṣūfī Psychology [Leiden 1983].

104. Eg. the Imāmī reports where Adam pleads with God to grant him powers enabling man to withstand the powers God had previously granted to Iblīs; see ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī, Tafsīr I 42 (Adam: "*mā aʿṭāhu min al-quwwah!*"); & al-ʿAyyāshī, Tafsīr I 276 (yet cf. 387: Adam given three *khiṣāl* in his progeny, and Iblīs demands equal empowerment).

Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's treatment of the conflict between Adam and Iblīs emphasizes the priority of Adam's empowerment with one hundred *akhlāq*: "*fa-lammā aʿṭā [Allāhu] Ādama...al-mi'ata khuluqin wa qīla la-hu, "hādhā jund min junūdi llāhi istaʿmilhā ʿalā ʿaduwwika Iblīs", fa-sa'ala Iblīsu rabbahu an yuʿṭiyahu addādahā kay yuḥāribahā bi-hā*"; Ghawr al-Umūr > Al-Aʿdā' wa l-Nafs 165.

105. See the distinctions between different dualist schemes provoked by attempts to assess the Qumran motif of the war between the 'Sons of Light' vs. 'Sons of Darkness': P. Wernberg-Møller, "A Reconsideration of the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community (1Q Serek III:13 - IV:26)", Revue de Qumran III/1961-2/413-41 (views it as totally on the psychological level); J.H. Charlesworth, "A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in 1Q S III,13 - IV,26 and the 'Dualism' Contained in the Fourth Gospel", New Testament Studies XV/1968-9/389f. (includes 'physical', 'metaphysical', & 'soteriological' dualism, and minimizes 'psychological' dualism in favor of a modified cosmic dualism); J.G. Gammie, "Spatial and Ethical Dualism in Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic Literature", Journal of Biblical Literature XCIII/1974/356-85; B. Otzen, "Old Testament Wisdom Literature and Dualistic Thinking in late Judaism", Supplements to

Vetus Testamentum XXVIII/1975/146-57 (questions tracing back Qumran dualism to Iranian cosmic or eschatological dualism, & stresses a "psychological and ethical dualism" with cosmic-eschatological connotations underlying Apocalyptic texts). Further, the observations by Ugo Bianchi, Selected Essays on Gnosticism, Dualism and Mysteriosophy, Supplements to Numen 38 [Leiden 1978], "Le Dualisme en Histoire des Religions" 27f.; and by Shaked, Dualism in Transformation, "Cosmogony and Dualism" 5-26.

106. See in particular L. Gardet, "La Dialectique en Morphologie et Logique Arabe", in L'Ambivalence dans la Culture Arabe, ed. J.-P. Charnay [Paris 1967] 116-23, esp. 121f. the remarks on the "corrélatif d'opposition" as native to the semantic genuis of Arabic, and its relevance to Ṣūfī analysis of spiritual states.

107. G. Monnot, "Les Écrits Musulmans sur les Religions Non-Bibliques", in Islam et Religions [Paris 1986] 39-82, on 50.

108. On Ḥarrān and its speculative milieu, see Theologie II 442-9. For the question of the impact of Manichaean ideas on Islamic thought in the 2nd/8th century, see: M. Guidi, La lotta tra l'Islām et il Manicheismo [Rome 1927]; reviewed by H.S. Nyberg, "Zum Kampf zwischen Islam und Manichäismus", Orientalistische Literaturzeitung XXXII.6/1929/426-41, esp. 427-30; G. Vajda, "Les Zindīqs en Pays d'Islam au début de la Periode Abbaside", Rivista degli Studi Orientali XVII/1937/173-229, on 175-81, 191-6 (Ibn Abī l-ʿAwjāʾ), & *passim* > Études de théologie et de philosophie arabo-islamiques [Variorum 1986] XIII; van Ess, Theologie I 418-23, 436-41, & see II 449-60 on the impact of Ḥarrānian Sabians on Islam. →

In a rather far-flung hypothesis M. Gil has recently argued for a formative influence of Manichaeanism on early *ḥanīf* circles (= the *ṣābi'ūn*) among the Arab tribes even before the mission of the Prophet, which impacted upon primitive Islam; "The Creed of Abū ʿĀmir", Israel Oriental Studies XII (1992) 9-57. For more details on the Manichaean proselytization of the Arab tribes before Islam, see G.G. Stroumsa, "Gnostics and Manichaeans in Byzantine Palestine", Studia Patristica [Kalamazoo, Michigan] X/1985/273-8.

109. For some aspects, see eg. G.G. Stroumsa, "Titus of Bostra and Alexander of Lycopolis: A Christian and a Platonic Refutation of Manichaean Dualism", in Neoplatonism and Gnosticism, ed. R.T. Wallis [Albany 1992] 337-49; and S. & G.G. Stroumsa, "Aspects of Anti-Manichaean Polemics in Late Antiquity and under Early Islam", Harvard Theological Review LXXXI/1988/37-58. In this latter article the Stroumsas emphasize that the Manichaean challenge to early Islam was more "on ethical rather than purely theological issues" (58), involving anthropological notions in their theodicy, materialism, and ethics, over their theological dualism (45-55).

110. S. & G.G. Stroumsa, "Anti-Manichaean Polemics" 55. As an example of what this challenge was, see the report giving the 'occasion of revelation' for Q *al-Anʿām* 6:1, found in Ibn Ḥibbān's Thiqāt VIII 308, via the Basran *ʿābid* al-ʿAlā' b. Ziyād al-ʿAdawī [d.94/713; Jarḥ VI 355 #1961; Tahdhīb VIII 181-2 #326] } 'raised' to the Prophet: *jā'a l-nāsu ilā l-Nabiy Ṣ, wa qālū: "yā Muḥammad, Allāhu khalaqa l-nūra wa khalaqa l-Shayṭānu l-ẓulmah?", fa-anzala llāhu: "al-ḥamdu li-llāhi lladhī khalaqa l-samāwāti wa l-arḍa [wa jaʿala l-ẓulumāti wa l-nūra" = Q 6:1].*

111. The phrase "*fī l-darajāti l-ʿulyā*" occurs in a *ḥadīth* with a Basran-Syrian *isnād* through ...} al-Mughīrah b. Qays [Jarḥ VIII 227-8 #1026; Mīzān IV 165 #8721] } Makḥūl } ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanam al-Fihrī [Jarḥ VI 407 #2275] } *marfūʿ*, describing the contemplative rapture of the elect whose spirits remain in this world while their *ʿuqūl* roam in the otherworld; Ḥilyat I 16-7. See the *ḥadīth* given by al-Muḥāsibī (Fahm al-Qur'ān 293) concerning the paradisial status of Qur'ān readers ("*fī aʿlā darajati l-jannāti*"); and the employment by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Sīrat al-Awliyā', ed. Radtke, 94 lines 13-4 ("*aʿlā darajāti l-awliyā'*"), & Jawāb al-Masā'il...Ahl Sarakhs, ed. Radtke, 144 line 20 ("*aʿlā l-darajāti fī l-jannah*"). Yet for al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, the *darajāt* 'degrees' are reached by the medium of the *qalb*, not by *ʿamal* 'works', and touches upon the mystery of the *ʿilm al-qismah*: "*anna l-darajāta bi-waṣā'ili l-qulūb wa qismatu mā fī l-darajah bi-l-aʿmāl..., fa-l-jannah li-l-aʿmāli lā li-l-darajāti wa l-darajāt li-l-qulūb*"; Sīrat 125 lines 1 & 12-3. Cf. above ch. 1 n. 37.

112. Ibn Wathīmah al-Fārisī, Bad' al-Khalq 128-9. The *isnād* reaches Ibn Jubayr through: the late Successor ʿUthmān b. ʿAmr b. Sāj al-Jazarī (d.180/796, a Murji'ī *qāḍī* of Ḥarrān) } the Basran Qadarī Saʿīd b. Abī ʿArūbah (d. ca. 156/773, see GAS I 91f., Theologie I 119 & II 62-5) } an unnamed person } Ibn Jubayr.

113. Recall that *al-Īmān* 'Faith' is the second of *ʿAql*'s recruits.

114. Similarly, al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī specifies that, unlike the ordinary worldly 'mind' (*dhihn*), the true confessors of God's Unity possess *al-ʿaql* discriminating twixt good and evil traits of character, "*wa bi-l-ʿaqli yumayyizu l-*

muwahhidūna min al-mahāsin wa l-masāwi'"; Al-Akyās wa l-Mughtarrīn > Tabā'iʿ al-Nufūs, ed. A.ʿA.-R. al-Sā'ih & al-Sayyid al-Jumaylī [Cairo 1989] 24.

115. See W.F.R. Hardie, "Aristotle's Doctrine that Virtue is a 'Mean'", Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society 1964-5, repr. in Articles on Aristotle, ed. J. Barnes, *et.al.* [London 1975-9] II 33-46. This is not to say that the 'Mean' was unknown to ethical lists in early *hadīth*. An example where the ethical 'Mean' is clearly evoked, from ʿAlī's *'khutbat al-wasīlah'* [= an interesting example of a composite *Hikmah* discourse] *via* } the Kufan Shīʿī ʿAmr b. Shimr } Jābir b. Yazīd al-Juʿfī } al-Bāqir } ʿAlī, found in al-Kulaynī, Rawdah 18-30 #4, on 21. Partially extracted in Ibn Bābawayh, Tawhīd 72-4 #27; and in ʿIlal, *bāb 96*, 109 #7, *via* al-Barqī } his father } Muhammad b. Sinān... :

> "The most remarkable thing in man is his heart. It has 'wellsprings*resources' of wisdom, and opposites contrary to (wisdom)/*la-hu mawāddun min al-hikmah wa addādun min khilāfihā*. Thus when hope/*al-rajā'* presents itself to (the heart), then avidity/*al-tamaʿ* conquers it... [listing thirteen opposing pairs wherein the baneful trait corrupts its contrary]. Hence every insufficiency is injurious to (the heart), while every excess perverts (the heart)/*fa-kullu taqsīrin bi-hi mudirr wa kullu ifrātin bi-hi mufsid.*"

Further, cf. Shaked, "Paymān: An Iranian Idea in Contact with Greek Thought and Islam" 229 (citing al-Jāhiz, Bayān II 50), & 230; Shaked deduces much interesting material.

Theurgic Neoplatonism, however, taught that wisdom (as the 'Hexad' = the perfect virtue of the Creator God) is not a mean, unlike the rest of the virtues. Pseudo-Iamblichus

wrote: "alone among all the virtues, wisdom is a divine and perfect true extreme — that is, it is not a mean, but has just one thing simply opposed to it (its lack, ignorance) which is not opposed by excess or deficiency. Nor is wisdom absent from any other virtue, but it accompanies all of them..."; The Theology of Arithmetic, trans. R. Waterfield [Grand Rapids 1988] 82.

116. As Shaked points out ("Paymān" 229): "The notion of the Mean entered Arabic literature not necessarily through the mediation of Middle Persian, but from Greek sources, and it is not always easy to distinguish between the Aristotelian concept of the middle way and that which may have come to Arabic from Iran." He distinguishes the notion of *paymān* as it was developed by Sasanian thinkers in theological and philosophical directions "which tends to regard virtues and vices as human qualities rather than as divine or demonic powers", from the "traditional" ethical view where "the old concepts of human qualities with a divine or demonic aspect are predominant" (232). Cf. above ch.2 n.15.

117. See below ch.6 §I.A. For an introduction to wilderness monasticism in Palestine and further east, see D. Chitty, The Desert a City [Oxford 1966]; & on the spectacular growth of monasticism in Syria and Mesopotamia during the 4th & 5th centuries CE, consult A. Vööbus, History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient [Louvain 1958-88] I 209f., II 70f., III 195f.

118. "*Al-qalbu malikun wa la-hu junūdun fa-idhā ṣalaḥa l-maliku ṣalaḥat junūduhu wa idhā fasada l-maliku fasadat*

junūduh..."; ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī, Muṣannaf XI 221. Similarly the saying attributed to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār by Saʿīd b. Abī ʿArūbah (Ibn Wathīmah al-Fārisī, Bad' al-Khalq 130):

> "The heart is the king of the body/*maliku l-jasadi*, its two messengers are its two hands, its two wings are its ears, and its eyes are its two sentries. Thus when the heart is upright, the limbs of the body are upright, and when the king is upright, his troops are fit for service/*ṣalaḥat junūduhu*."

The 2nd century Baghdadi *ḥakīm* ʿAlī b. ʿUbaydah al-Rayḥānī depicted *ʿaql* as ruler over virtuous traits (al-Kutubī, Ghurar al-Khaṣā'iṣ 90): "*al-ʿaqlu malikun wa l-khiṣālu l-ḥasanah raʿiyyatuhu fa-idhā ḍaʿufa ʿan al-qiyāmi ʿalayhā waṣala l-khalalu ilayhā*". This formulation could also be consistent with Sasanian wisdom teachings.

Chapter 6

THE HEAVENLY ANTHROPIC ʿAQL

This chapter examines the psycho-ethical and affective dimensions of Jaʿfar's seventy-five Powers, and then follows the further enrichment of this scheme among the later Shīʿah and certain Ṣūfīs.

§I. SEVENTY-FIVE PAIRS & 'TABLES OF VIRTUES | VICES'

The significance of al-Ṣādiq's report lies as much or more in the listing of the 'troops' as in the inaugural myth of light and darkness. The lengthy succession of human traits represented by the 'troops' of *ʿAql & Jahl* forming the physiognomy of man's inner affective life may no longer appeal to modern readers as worthy of careful attention. The reverse was the case in the past, when lists detailing human ethical traits were closely studied in theory and cultivated in practice.[1] This phenomenon was not limited to any one culture or tradition: whether the 'Seven Deadly Sins' & 'Seven Graces';[2] or the thirty-two opposed pairs of virtues|vices subsumed under *wehīh* 'Goodness' in the Pahlavi wisdom collection Dēnkard VI;[3] or the zodiacal twelve vices ("irrational torments of matter") purged by the arrival of a decad of powers giving birth to 'mind' in Corpus Hermeticum XIII.7-12; or the tables of twelve or fifteen virtues and

vices common to men and animals quoted by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' III 20, and found in both forms of the Sirr al-Asrār ascribed to Aristotle.[4] But why 'seventy-five' precisely (see ch.5 n.63), and does this number provide any indication of a model Ja'far may have relied on in this instance?

The recurrence in popular reports of multiples such as 75,000 angels protecting the person who performs a good deed, may not be particularly apposite.[5] One report from Luqmān listing approximately seventy-five roughly contrasting *akhlāq* for the *aḥmaq* and the *ḥakīm* bears some faint resemblance to al-Ṣādiq's listing. Luqmān concludes with this exhortation to his son :[6]

> "My dear boy, try to comprehend 'wisdom' and (all of) its character-traits, and make them your chief occupation, and empty your self so as to make room for them...".

Although the parallel here between *ḥikmah* and *'aql* in relation to the *akhlāq* is evident (+ see ch.5 n.115), the fact that the number 'seventy-five' is not explicitly cited, nor are the traits given as opposing pairs but merely listed successively in two blocks, detracts from Luqmān's piece serving as a valid structural precedent.

§I A. A LIKELY PARALLEL: THE SACRA PARALLELA

Taking our cue from what is known about the environment in which al-Ṣādiq worked, and the convergence or confluence

of traditions occuring within his lifetime, a likely model for tables of seventy-odd virtues and vices may be sought in the flourishing literary genre of the ethical florilegia among Near Eastern Christians. These anthologies of extracts from earlier texts, and especially of citations from Biblical Wisdom writings, represent a Christian parallel to the *midrāshīm* of Judaism, and were "a continuation in the Christian tradition of the wisdom literature of the Old Testament".[7] During the 6th - 8th centuries CE the florilegium constituted a vibrant style of religious literature which served multiple purposes including homiletic, intra-confessional, doctrinal, and spiritual functions. Several other genres also received abundant dissemination during the same period, including the 'Disputation' and 'Question & Answer' writings,[8] prompting close parallels in early Islamic literature.[9] It appears that the same was true of the ethical florilegium.

By Islamic 'literature' one must include early *ḥadīth* and *akhbār* narratives, such as Ja'far's narrative here being studied.[10] Archaic *mawḍū'āt* are properly to be included among the early 'literature' (eg. Dāwūd's Kitāb al-'Aql), no matter how naïve their literary form may strike one. The *masā'il* 'Questions & Answers' of the monk "*Sham'ūn*" to the Prophet which contained a version of the Century of *al-'aql* (ch.3 n.42) are a good example of such confluence or trans-

ference of genres between rival traditions, made possible by the unique social and political circumstances obtaining in the early Islamic period in Muslim Syria and Iraq. In the 1st - 2nd/7th - 8th centuries, Christians writing in Greek in the Eastern Byzantine provinces of Palestine and Sinai were particularly fertile in the production of these various genres,[11] and many were at once translated for wider dissemination into Syriac. The interpenetration of Greek and Syriac\Aramaic mediating a common religious *koiné* was displaced by the emergence of the new religious *koiné* employing Arabic, a process occurring first in Palestine with the shift from Umayyad to ʿAbbāsid rule from ca. the middle of the 2nd/8th century.[12] Jews, Christians, and Muslims were now expressing themselves in a common language.

Working in the monastery of Mar Saba outside Jerusalem, St. John of Damascus (d. ca. 132/750) produced a massive florilegium in Greek, his Hiera or the Sacra Parallela in three books.[13] The first two books treat God and man respectively, where Biblical[14] and patristic citations are systematically presented in alphabetic order. Book 3, after a short introduction, treats ca. seventy opposed pairs of virtues and vices, with every pair having a scholium treating that particular virtue|vice.[15] Since the Sacra's number and order for the pairs vary, and the study of the different Damascene florilegium spawned by St. John's Hiera is not far

advanced, any conclusions based on such details are all uncertain. Yet given the plethora of versions deriving from this work, and its utility as an encyclopedic treasury of learning and tradition, it is plausible to posit that it may have had almost immediate repercussions within the lifetime of al-Ṣādiq. This could have occured in the process of cultural diffusion or osmosis within contacts between the Arabs and Hellenized Christian civilization in the conquered provinces of the Byzantine empire,[16] or between Muslims and Eastern Syrian Christianity in the former provinces of the Sasanian empire.

From whence St. John of Damascus took his plan of 'seventy' opposed pairs to convey ethical and spiritual teaching is not known (possibly Philo's dialectic of 'coupling of opposites' developed in lists of virtues|vices ?). The congruence discernible between the structure and intent of Book 3 of Sacra and the seventy-five troops of *ʿAql & Jahl* may indicate an older model behind both. The *idea* that the conditions of time, place, and literary-religious convergence may have facilitated the appropriation of this particular genre within Islamic tradition appears plausible. However, a Sasanian Zoroastrian model is not improbable, although the evidence is not perfectly parallel;[17] while the Luqmānic precedent is difficult to ignore entirely, since Jaʿfar was fond of citing at length from Luqmān's corpus.

§I B. LATER PARALLELS (al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī)

a. The structure of al-Ṣādiq's seventy-five powers does not appear to have served as a direct model for the third century Central Asian Ṣūfī al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's treatise on al-ʻAql wa l-Hawā, wherein fifty opposing pairs of virtues|vices are listed.[18] The number fifty could reflect a 'half-century' derived from Christian monastic literary models. From the ca. one-third of al-Ḥakīm's text extant it is evident that the structure of his work revolves around an exposition of the physiognomy of *al-ʻaql* in his Ṣūfī teaching. It opens: "*al-ʻaql* has fifty 'assistants' (*khamsūna ʻawnan*), and *al-hawā* has fifty 'assistants'...". Then immediately follows a listing of *al-ʻaql*'s fifty helpers: *ʻaql, fahm, baṣar, maʻrifah, yaqīn*... .

Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī distinguishes between what he twice refers to as "*al-ʻaql al-awwal*",[19] and *al-ʻaql* as the first of its fifty 'assistants', apparently denoting by the former the primary or root all-comprising faculty (a 'higher *ʻaql*'). This term "*al-ʻaql al-awwal*" occurs only in his discussion of the first 'assistant' (= the lower *ʻaql*), which serves as a shackle/*ʻaqd* for man holding one back from reprehensibles and the guiles of Satan who is never able to ensnare the higher *ʻaql*. Following this come the successive disquisitions on the individual 'assistants' of *al-ʻaql*, each scholia containing a brief etymology of the term, and

giving either three or six elements which it comprises, occasionally sprinkled with supporting *ḥadīth*. Only after this is the opposing 'assistant' of *al-hawā* named, separately under each 'assistant' of *al-ʿaql*. His standard phrase employed for the opposing trait is "*ḍidd* adversary" (eg. *wa ḍiddu l-fahmi l-wahmu*).

Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's list offers instruction to the Ṣūfī disciple and concentrates on inner disciplines for those pursuing the path.[20] Despite its different structure and literary nature, a scrutiny of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's list of the 'assistants' of *al-ʿaql* reveals a fair degree of congruence with the 'troops' given by al-Ṣādiq. Nineteen are identical (including four opposing pairs), while eight come very close;[21] ie. roughly half may be said to be the same as those listed by al-Ṣādiq. However, this is best seen as a not unexpected coincidence, given the popularity of these traits in wisdom lists, and their constant association with *ʿaql* as all-embracing chief of the character-traits in a variety of ethico-psychological schemes.

b. A more apt comparison might be made between al-Ḥakīm's list in his al-ʿAql wa l-Hawā, and the list of twenty-two virtues and seventy-nine vices given by al-Muḥāsibī in his Kitāb al-ʿIlm when treating of the interior heart knowledge linked with the practice of virtues.[22] Both

al-Muḥāsibī and al-Tirmidhī provide a three-fold division of knowledge corresponding to exoteric, mesoteric, and esoteric; the second type of knowledge is interior resulting in 'heart-worship'; eg. al-Muḥāsibī, ʿIlm: *aḥkām al-ākhirah* = *al-ʿibādat al-bāṭinah*, & contrasting *ajzā' al-ḥalāl* & *ajzā' al-ḥarām*. Al-Ṣādiq's list appears to be more encompassing than the 'assistants' of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's ʿAql, with basic social and personal virtues ranged alongside of more rarified qualities befitting its 'mesoteric' teaching.[23] Others have emphasized either the cosmogonic aspect of the seventy-five *jund*, or its sketching the path to human spiritual perfection.[24] It is certainly true that the *maʿrifat al-ʿaql* urged by al-Ṣādiq is on a par with the second type of interior knowledge discussed by al-Muḥāsibī and al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, a knowledge firmly based on the sincere cultivation of virtues and avoidance of vices. Bernd Radtke has pointed to the centrality of this science of applied self-knowledge in Ṣūfī ethics, which forms the necessary basis for higher apprehension or cognition within the interior planes of disclosure.[25]

c. Another work by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī offers a striking structural parallel to al-Ṣādiq's myth. In Ghawr al-Umūr (ed. W.A. ʿAbdAllāh under the title al-Aʿdā' wa l-Nafs, 151-66), the creation of *ʿaql* from the awesome Light of

(⊗ See Addendum E.)

God's Sublime Glory is described which integrates a form of the *Aqbil!* report, followed by successive listings of one hundred *junūd* for *ʿaql* (also termed *akhlāq*) opposed to one hundred for Iblīs**hawā* — integrated within his particular theosophical Ṣūfī 'psycho-anthropology'. Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī states that he received this piece on *ʿaql*'s creation (Ghawr\Aʿdāʾ 151-2 *bāb ṣifat al-ʿaql*) as a narrated report or teaching ("*ḥuddithnā bi-dhālika*"), without giving any indication of its source.

#27) The 'setting' is dramatically expanded. God created "*ʿaql*" from the light of 'Awesome-Dignity' or 'reverential-fear' ("*inna llāha khalaqa l-ʿaqla min nūri l-Haybah*"), comprising three letters: ع *ʿayn* - ق *qāf* - ل *lām*, with the letters *ʿayn* & *qāf* having each five 'meanings' (*maʿānī*), and the letter *lām* containing a progression through six 'meanings' (from *al-luṭf* to *al-ḥubb*). ... The two letters of *lām*'s final word "*ḥubb*/love" حُبّ (as locus of *maʿrifah*), in turn form double layers enfolding the human body and the heart: "*ḥāʾ*" = *ḥayāt* life, *ḥayāʾ* diffident-reserve, *ḥilm* understanding, & *ḥikmah* wisdom; while "*bāʾ*" = *birr* 'righteous-obedience' by which worldly blessings are bestowed, & *bahāʾ* 'splendor' by which man competes with the angels. This elaborate esoteric *taʾwīl* of the letter-meanings for <*ʿ.q.l.*> is probably susceptible to inner dis-

closures through esoteric letter-number correspondences.

The 'setting' continues (Ghawr\A'dā' 152):

> ...In his *ṣūrah*/form, (*'Aql*) is the best creation and the most adorned; furthermore in his apparel/*libās* he is the best clad and most distinguished. (God) filled him/*ḥashāhu* with the lights of Unity, Singularity and Grandeur (*bi-anwāri l-Waḥdāniyyah wa l-Fardiyyah wa l-Kibriyā'*); and clad him in a tunic/*kisā'* of the light of Beauty/*nūr al-Jamāl*, the light of Splendor/*al-Bahā'*, the light of Sublimity/*al-Jalāl*, the light of Excellence/*al-Ḥusn*, the light of Exaltedness/*al-'Aẓamah* and the light of 'Awesome-Dignity'/*nūr al-Haybah*.
>
> ['testing'] Then when (God) completed (*'aql*'s) creation, He said to him, "Come forward!" and he drew near. Then He said to him, "Go back!" and he retreated. Then He said, "Sit/*uq'ud*!" and he sat\abided.
>
> ['encomium'] Then (God) said, "By My Power! I created no creature better than thee, nor more beautiful, more eminent, or more noble than thee.
> I created thee of light, filled thee with light, clad thee with light, sheathed thee with light, I aid thee with light/*amudduka bi-l-nūr*, and I made thee inhabit the source of light/*ma'din al-nūr*. For I Am Light, and the cognition of Me is light/*ma'rifatī nūr*, My speech is light, and thou art of the light of Light /*anta min nūri l-nūr*. I clad thee with light, filled thee with light, lodged thee in the light — so thou art Light upon Light/*anta nūrun 'ala nūr*.
> I guide to My light whomever I will of My servants."[26]
>
> Next He said to him, "Who am I ?" (*'Aql*) said, "Thou art God, there is no God save Thee!"

['listing'] *qāla*:[27] So the Lord said, "By means of thee am I obeyed, and by means of thee am I praised, and by means of thee I receive.[28] Thine is the reward and the reckoning is upon thee/*wa ʿalayka l-ḥisāb.*"

This heavily re-worked version of *Aqbil! Adbir!* is followed by the listing of one hundred troops of *ʿaql* (p.152-3 = count one hundred and two in the text), and then a brief depiction of each of their functions (p.153-4). Many are reminiscent of al-Ṣādiq's 75 *jund*: "*al-ʿilm wa l-ḥilm fa-humā wazīrā l-ʿaqli, wa l-yaqīn qā'imu l-jaysh...*" (p.153). Next comes a discussion of Iblīs and his significance as the opponent of *ʿaql* (*bāb ṣifat Iblīs wa ṣifat al-hawā wa ṣifat junūdih*, p.154f.), leading up to the complementary listing of the one hundred troops awarded Iblīs as a match for what God had given Adam in their combat (p.165-6 = count one hundred and five in the text): *kufr, jahl, kibr, ḥasad, ḥiqd, makr, khidāʿ*... .[29] *Hawā* is opposed to *maʿrifah* as the warring 'kings' of Iblīs and Adam respectively.

The structure of the *Aqbil!* report in Ghawr has been stretched with great liberty. The 'setting' is stuffed with a *gematria* forming a detailed creation-psychology of *ʿaql*. It radiates a light-mysticism stressing *ʿaql*'s sublime light dimension from *nūr al-Haybah* (linked by al-Ḥakīm with God's Jalāl 'Supreme Greatness'[30]), being further emphasized in the 'encomium'. Among third century Ṣūfī masters *maʿrifah*

'cognition' is linked to various conditions, in particular *haybah* 'reverential-fear' and the heart-vision.[31] This blinding concentration upon the light of *ʿaql* harks back to al-Ṣādiq's narrative where *ʿaql* is created from the Throne light. In report #27 we find al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī handling it in the context of his own particular teaching integrating not only esoteric Shīʿī components (here Ismāʿīlī ?), but apparently Neoplatonic ideas as well.[32]

The 'testing' may be compared with al-Faḍl al-Raqāshī's version (ch.1 #7: "Sit!"; + #8.a.), yet here it has merely three elements with the stress placed on the 'sitting' *ʿaql*. Since it is this final action on the part of *ʿaql*, his 'abiding' at God's behest, which provokes the lavish divine encomium, this 'sitting' must have a special significance in the context of report #27 (see ch.2 n.16). Another striking feature is the depiction of God filling *ʿaql* with "the lights of Unity/*al-Waḥdāniyyah*, Singularity and Grandeur". This is matched by *ʿaql*'s reply to God's query "Who am I ?", in which he attests to the divine Oneness by repeating a form of the first part of the *shahādah*: "There is no God save Thee/*anta*!" There appears to be some linkage here with the form of the *Aqbil!* report approved of by Ibn Taymiyyah, where God endows *ʿaql* with the light of His Unity ("...*fa-kaḥḥalahu bi-nūri l-waḥdāniyyah*"; ch.3 n.64).

The integral conjunction of the *Aqbil!* report with century-listings of the troops of *ʿaql**Adam and of *hawā**Iblīs lends support to our interpretation of the center of gravity of al-Ṣādiq's myth (ch.5 SII). Within this anthropic dimension, *ʿaql* achieves a form of apotheosis through his elevation to the Heavenly realm and intimate association with divine Light. In this trajectory of meaning, the Prophetic status mediated by the perfection of *ʿaql* (cf. al-Ṣādiq's "*al-darajat al-ʿulyā*")[33] does attain a cosmic dimension, though perhaps not a cosmogonic one.

The comparison of early wisdom lists such as the Century of *al-ʿaql* and al-Ṣādiq's 75 *jund*, with later Ṣūfī systems of *adab* 'character-training' and knowledge-practice at the heart of self-transformation (ie. 'psychomachia'), is a topic requiring more intensive study. This is an important lesson which the study of the *ʿaql* reports provides, namely the continuity of teaching within Islamic *Ḥikmah* from an early period through to major Ṣūfī theoreticians of the 3rd/9th century,[34] focused upon the role of *al-ʿaql* as chief of the *akhlāq & khiṣāl* in a practice of knowledge,[35] and opening onto a noetic cognition of Truth closely joining *ʿaql* with light and *maʿrifah*.

d. A later work worthy of mention is the Bustān al-ʿUqūl by the 6th/12th century Yamanī Rabbi Nathanael Ibn al-

Fayyūmī,[36] for his list of seventy pairs of good and evil qualities bears a strong resemblance to al-Ṣādiq's seventy-five opposites. Written in Ṣanʿā' in 560/1165, the Bustān relies heavily on the Rasā'il of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*. Possibly Ibn al-Fayyūmī drew upon sources deriving from Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.

SII. LIGHT AND INTERCESSION

In yet another piece transmitted from imam al-Kāẓim } al-Ṣādiq, the ***Aqbil!*** report is reconstructed and combined with other archaic elements, but fulfils different theological functions. The 'setting' has the creation of ***al-ʿAql*** from supernal light associated with divine foreknowledge beyond the comprehension of prophets or arch-angels. It includes a heptad of qualities comprising the being of ***al-ʿaql***, as well as a decad of virtuous traits with which he is empowered. Next comes an expanded version of the 'testing' wherein ***al-ʿAql*** affirms God's Unity, followed by a lavish 'encomium', then a 'listing' stressing the theme of intercession. This piece evokes the Angel-***ʿaql*** (ch.4 #24).

#28) Ibn Bābawayh, Maʿānī l-Akhbār, ed. ʿA.A. al-Ghaffārī [Tehran 1959] 312-13; also in Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī, al-Amālī II 155-56;[37] & al-Majlisī, Biḥār I 107.[38]

ISNĀD [three links] ... Muḥammad b. ʿĀṣim al-Ṭurayfī[39] } ʿAyyāsh b. Yazīd b. al-Ḥasan\Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Kaḥḥāl *mawlā*

Zayd b. ʻAlī } his father[40] } Mūsā al-Kāẓim } al-Ṣādiq } (on his family *isnād*) } ʻAlī } the Prophet :

> God Blessed and Exalted created *al-ʻaql* from a treasured light hidden in His foreknowledge [*min nūrin makhzūnin maknūnin fī sābiq ʻilmih*/out of a concealed treasured light which He had previously determined], which is not disclosed to a Messenger Prophet nor to a Near Angel. Then He made
>
> 1. *al-ʻilm* knowledge to be his soul,
> 2. *al-fahm* comprehension to be his spirit,
> 3. *al-zuhd* abstention to be his head,
> 4. *al-ḥayā'* organic-shame to be his two eyes,
> 5. *al-ḥikmah* wisdom to be his tongue,
> 6. *al-ra'fah* tender-pity to be his mouth,[41] and
> 7. *al-raḥmah* loving-compassion to be his heart.
>
> Then He clad him and empowered him with Ten things:
>
> 1. *al-yaqīn* certainty
> 2. *al-īmān* faith
> 3. *al-ṣidq* veracity[42]
> 4. *al-sakīnah* inner-tranquility
> 5. *al-ikhlāṣ* sincerity
> 6. *al-rifq* friendly kindness
> 7. *al-ʻaṭiyyah* liberal gift-giving
> 8. *al-qunūʻ* contentment[43]
> 9. *al-taslīm* acceptance
> 10. *al-shukr* gratitude.
>
> Then He said to him, "Go back!" and he retreated. Next He said to him, "Come forward!" and he drew near. Then He said: "Speak!", so (*al-ʻaql*) said:
>
> "Praise be to God for Whom there is no opponent/*ḍidd* nor peer/*nidd*, no likeness/*shibh**shabah* nor resemblance

/*shabīh*. (He has) no equal/*kufu'* nor match/*'adīl*, no similitude/*mithl* nor analogy/*mathīl*;[44] whom everything to His Sublimity is submissive and abject."

Then the Lord, Blessed and Exalted, said:

"By My Power and My Glory! I did not create a creature better than thee, nor more obedient or higher or more illustrious, or more cherished[45] than thee! By means of thee am I declared to be One/*bi-ka uwaḥḥadu*, and through thee am I worshipped/*wa bi-ka u'badu*,[46] and by means of thee am I called upon/*wa bi-ka ud'ā* (in supplication), and by means of thee am I hoped for/*wa bi-ka urtajā*, and by means of thee am I sought/*wa bi-ka ubtaghā*,[47] and by means of thee am I feared/*wa bi-ka ukhāfu*, and by means of thee am I warned against/ *wa bi-ka uḥadhdharu*.[48] By means of thee is the reward (earned)/*wa bi-ka al-thawāb*,[49] and by means of thee is the punishment (merited)/*wa bi-ka al-'iqāb*."

Thereupon *al-'aql* fell down prostrate, and remained in prostration one thousand years. After that the Lord, Blessed and Exalted, said:

"Lift thy head! Ask! and it shall be granted thee. Intercede thou! Thou shalt have thine intercession accepted."[50] *Al-'aql* raised his head and said:

"My God, I ask of Thee that Thou grant me the right of intercession for the one in whom Thou created me."

God Blessed and Exalted said to His angels:

"I bear witness to you[51] that I made (*al-'aql*) to be an intercessor for the one in whom I created him."

This piece may owe its final form to the associate of imam al-Kāẓim, Yazīd b. al-Ḥasan the descendant of a *mawlā*

of Zayd b. ʿAlī; or it might possibly be assigned to al-Kāẓim. In its present form it probably dates no earlier than the 2nd half of the second century. In the 'setting', *ʿAql*'s creation from a hidden divine light as part of God's foreknowledge should be linked with the main thrust of the report: the forensic role of *ʿaql* as advocate for man before God on Judgement Day (ie. as *ḥujjah*). The elevation of this light beyond the prophets and angels hints at the intercessory role *ʿaql* is meant to play in God's plan for creation, and at the Heavenly light-*ʿAql*. Yet there is no explicit mention of any 'first creation'. This report provides a sample of the further enrichments experienced by the *Aqbil!* report after al-Ṣādiq's era, perhaps evidencing one link in a trajectory leading up to the version quoted in Ghawr al-Umūr by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (report #27).

The seven attributes forming the being of *ʿaql* stress his knowing and perceptive faculties (*ʿilm, fahm, ḥikmah*) equally with moral virtues (*zuhd, ḥayā', raḥmah*). This heptad is to be aligned with the seven qualities located in man's psychic body moving from inside outwards portraying a macro-anthropos, known eg. from Gnostic writings.[52] Yet here only a few of the details evoke the order and the qualities known from ancient models.[53] The decad with which *ʿaql* is empowered bears a faint resemblance to the decalogue of the *makārim al-akhlāq* given by al-Ṣādiq.[54] The above

decad represents a fairly typical sample of the religious and social virtues commonly associated with *ʿaql* as the chief of human ethical traits. The motif of empowerment links it with the seventy-five *jund* report, as well as with the motif of *ta'yīd al-ʿaql* (below report #29).

Is there any significance to the *idbār* preceding the *iqbāl* in this report (& see ch.1 #10)? The 'testing' has *ʿaql* utter a theologically sophisticated attestation to divine unity, which earns God's lavish praise ("*bi-ka uwaḥḥadu*") and expansive 'listing' of nine merits and risks which *ʿaql* entails. The theological credo in the 'testing' bears strong conceptual and terminological affinities to more or less developed Twelver school theology expressed in reports assigned to ʿAli and other imams.[illegible] This is one reason for dating this report around the turn of the 2nd\3rd century, though the heptad and decad are archaic components which have been taken up into the *Aqbil!* frame. The rest of this piece introduces the new element of *shafāʿah* 'intercession', seemingly unique in the repertoire of the *Aqbil!* reports. The stress on the head of *ʿaql* may be intentional (above n.53); ie. the locus of *ʿaql* 'reason' is in the brain. The only parallel to the thousand year prostration offered up by *ʿaql* in grateful humility or entreaty, may be as a reversal of Iblīs' expulsion from heaven (*sujūd Iblīs*) earning him a respite from God's punishment.[illegible]

The theme of intercession is well attested in the Qur'ān and early *ḥadīth*, almost always in an eschatological context with strong theological overtones.[57] Early Muslim *ḥadīth* emphasized the role of the Prophet as chief advocate on behalf of man, even for the inmates of Hell or those who committed grave sins, provided they attested to God's Unicity.[58] Early Shī'ism further stressed the intercessory role of the Imām-martyr on behalf of his devoted partisans as a living presence beyond the grave.[59] Here *'aql* is divinely appointed to play the part of advocate for man on Judgement Day, at least for those in whom *'aql* was fixed by God. A definite predestinarian element is present, consonant with the thought of the Ḥusaynid 'Alids. This intercessory theme is not inconsistent with the basic concerns addressed by the *Aqbil!* reports: moral responsibility & reward and punishment. Yet the fixtures of the heptad and decad give this report features in tune with materials found in Islamic *'aql* 'decalogues' and in reports on the 'body of Adam', as if it intended a summary of some typical motifs.

Something more may be hinted at as well. Does the linking of the Heavenly light-*'aql* with *shafā'ah* (a function reserved for the Prophet & Imām in Shī'ism), suggest a nexus between *'aql* and the Imām? For example, in al-Ṣādiq's myth of seventy-five *jund*, when *al-Jahl* disobeys by refusing to

come forward, Q *Ṣād* 38:75 is partially quoted, where God reprimands Iblīs: "Art thou become full of self-pride, or art thou of the 'High-exalted Ones'/*min al-ʿālīna*?". An Imāmī report offers a *ta'wīl* of the term *al-ʿālīna* in the guise of a prophetic *ḥadīth*, identifying them as the five members of the Prophet's Family who two thousand years before Adam's creation sang God's praises in the pavilion of the Throne (*fī surādiqi l-ʿarsh*), and to whom Iblīs had the arrogance to aspire.[60]

SIII. EMPOWERMENT BY ʿAQL

Finally we may mention yet another version of the *Aqbil!* report assigned to al-Ṣādiq, with a unique stress on God's aiding the person He favors through His endowment of *ʿaql*. This refers to the power and assistance divinely provided to man through *al-ʿaql*, expressed in the notion of "*ta'yīd al-ʿaql* the 'strengthening*aiding' of al-*ʿaql*".

#29) al-Mufīd, al-Ikhtiṣāṣ 244 > Biḥār I 98 #11.[61]

> *inna llāha Tabāraka wa Taʿālā lammā khalaqa l-ʿaqla qāla la-hu "Aqbil!" fa-aqbala, thumma qāla la-hu "Adbir!" fa-adbara, fa-qāla, "wa ʿizzatī wa jalālī! mā khalaqtu khalqan aʿazza ʿalayya min-ka, u'ayyidu man aḥbabtuhu bi-ka."*
>
> God Blessed and Exalted, when He had created *al-ʿaql*, He said to him, "Come forward!" so he drew near. Then He said to him, "Go back!" so he retreated. So God said, "By My Power and My Majesty! I did not create a

> creature more cherished by Me than thee. I shall 'strengthen' the one whom I love by means of thee."

The single point of interest is the 'listing', otherwise this version resembles early forms (ch.1 #1 & #14). The assertion that God renders assistance (renders victorious) those whom He loves may evoke the predestinarian readings of the *Aqbilī* report encountered previously, ch.1 #2, #3 (+ #4?), & ch.2 #15. The fact that several of those overtly determinist versions were circulated among non-Shīʿīs for the polemical purpose of countering Qadarī ideas gives pause for thought. The majority of versions assigned to al-Ṣādiq (ch.1 ## 9, 10, & 12) can be construed in a more nuanced manner, ie. as supporting a *tafḍīlī* view. More likely, the theme of *ta'yīd* may be connected with the widespread notion of *tawfīq* (God's success, 'saving-grace').

Help is found in a summary statement from the imam. It forms the conclusion to this study. Al-Kulaynī (Uṣūl I 25 #23) reports it from } al-Barqī } "*mursalan*" } al-Ṣādiq :[62]

> #30) "*Diʿāmatu l-insāni l-ʿaqlu* Man's chief-support is *al-ʿaql* 'intelligence*understanding', and from *ʿaql* comes *al-fiṭnah* astuteness, *al-fahm* comprehension, *al-ḥifẓ* attentiveness [or memory], and *al-ʿilm* knowledge. By means of *al-ʿaql* (man) becomes perfected/*yukammalu*, and it is his guide/*dalīluh*, his illuminer/*mubṣiruh*, and the key to his affair.
>
> If the 'strengthening' of his *ʿaql* is through light, then he becomes knowing, attentive, 'mindful' [or

'acute-of-perception'[63]], sagacious, and 'quick-of-understanding' (*kāna ʿāliman ḥāfiẓan dhākiran [dhakiyyan] faṭinan fahiman*). Then he 'perceives' /*ʿarafa* with (these five faculties) the 'how', the 'why', the 'whence'; and he perceives whomever sincerely counsels him and whomever deceives him. When he perceives (these things), then he perceives his proper course, what connects him, and what separates him;[64] and he is pure and clear in (confirming) Oneness of God and establishing obedience (to God).

If he accomplishes that, he becomes a redresser of past defects and a recipient of what is yet to come,[65] perceiving what he is about, and for what purpose he is here, and from where it reaches him, and to what end he is proceeding. All of this accrues (to him) from the 'strengthening' of *al-ʿaql*."

The opening words strike a chord with earlier wisdom maxims about *ʿaql* as man's *diʿāmah*. The same is true of other features such as *ʿaql* as man's guide (eg. the saying "*al-ʿaqlu dalīlu l-mu'min*"), or the capacity to discriminate counsel from deceit (here, divine aid from demonic leading astray). Yet the religious aura of such 'discrimination' places it well beyond the old Arab and early Arab Muslim notion of the clever man who is too smart to be tricked by others. Rather it is in harmony with the fundamental religious insight that the faithful are not 'duped' by worldly motives (ie. *al-mughtarrūn*), and keep their aim fixed on the Hereafter. Further, the ability to recognize the true Guide may be hinted at (*maʿrifat al-imām*), a cardinal tenet of Jaʿfar.

ʿAql encompasses four or five primary perceptive faculties (*ʿilm, ḥifẓ, dhakā', fiṭnah, & fahm*) leading to man's acquisition of saving knowledge and true monotheist faith. The perfection of one's cognitive ability is accomplished through the illumination of *ʿaql* when it is 'buttressed*aided' through light (*ʿaql* as one's illuminator, *mubṣiruhu*). Light is the source of perceptive faculties collectively constituting the powers of *ʿaql* (cf. the metaphor of the 'eye of the heart').[66] This is consonant with al-Ṣādiq's portrayal of the creation of *al-ʿaql* from Throne light, the Heavenly *ʿAql* being the 'intelligence*wisdom' at the source of every individual's *ʿaql*, termed by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī "*al-ʿAql al-Akbar* the Omni Intelligence*Mind". Light emanates from above, beaming divine succour and bounty (ie. *faḍl* 'grace'), aiding and guiding the individual portions of *ʿaql* 'installed' in each person. Allowance is made for dissimilarity and surpassingness in individual endowment of *ʿaql*, provided in abundance to the perfect whom God loves (see the use of *yukammalu* in #29; cf. ch.1 #11).

The five powers of *ʿaql*, as well as *maʿrifah* itself, should be viewed as divine aid or grace, not of man's own doing (above n.63). This idea may be co-ordinated with al-Ṣādiq's motif of the essential nature of purified humanity equated with celestial light in the Throne realm ('bodies of light'), a topic only referred to in passing in our study.

Yet in this particular piece more weight is placed on *ma'rifah* as the mode of 'grasping*perceiving' one's course in the conduct of life and one's final goal. The meditation upon and cognition of the ultimate questions ('whence'?) allows man to attain pure monotheism and proper obedience to God. *'Aql* is presented as crucial to the religious enterprise and as actively contributing to true faith and self-understanding.

Al-Ṣādiq's statement in report #30 constitutes an elaborately interiorized form of the widespread 'praise of *'aql*' ubiquitous in early Islamic Wisdom. He once gave a concise formulation when asked to define what *'aql* is :

> "*Mā 'ubida bi-hi l-Raḥmān wa uktusiba bi-hi l-Jinān.*
> (*Al-'aql* is) that by which the All-Merciful is worshipped, and by which Paradise is earned."[67]

Here the verb *'ubida bi-hi* denotes worshipful service to God in the sense of 'rendering obedience to'. The significance of *uktusiba bi-hi* is best viewed in terms of Qur'ānic usage; eg. Q 2:286, speaking of the *nafs*/soul: "*la-hā mā kasabat wa 'alayhā mā iktasabat* It shall have (the reward) it earns, and it shall get (the punishment) it incurs". Al-Ṣādiq's brief utterance eloquently captures the gist of several of the above themes. It relates two fundamental aspects of *'aql*, the human and the divine sides of a single reality. Man earns reward and enters Paradise by means of *'aql*, and

God is best worshipped by man (ie. man truly obeys God) through the faculty of *ʿaql* with which He endowed humans.

Clearly Jaʿfar has invested the ancient 'glorification of Wisdom' with themes central to his own anthropology: the combat between Adam and Iblīs, the pentad of cognitive faculties, light, *maʿrifah*, and especially guidance. The Imām of guidance, as the inheritor of prophetic *ʿilm* and guardian of revelation, enunciates Divine Wisdom in executing his task.

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NOTES

1. Contemporary science is groping towards a recovery of the recognition of the fundamental importance of human emotions for intelligence, as in the field of neuro-biology when studying physiological responses and the emotional "somatic markers" of human experience involved in decision making. The neurologist Antonio R. Damasio remarks that "emotion is part and parcel of what we call 'cognition'. If there is sever impairment of the emotions, we cannot have rationality"; Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason, and the Human Brain [New York, Grosset\Putnam 1994] 9. The recent work by Daniel Goleman, Emotional Intelligence [New York, Bantam 1995] puts in question the prevailing assumptions about what 'intelligence' really comprises. The merit of these works lies in collating neurological and behavioral research pointing to the cramped view of the human person in contemporary science.

2. See Gerard Mussies, "Catalogues of Sins and Virtues Personified", in Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions for G. Quispel [Leiden 1981] 315-35, who reviews some of the better known tables of opposites, and observes that "catalogues of sins or virtues, in the proper sense, are not found in the Old Testament, and apparently they are likewise absent from Talmud and Midrashim" (319). The catenary listing of virtues was commonly employed as a Hellenistic rhetorical device, and occurs in literature primarily from the 1st century BCE and the first two centuries CE. Thus 2 Peter 1:5-7 contains several virtues that frequently occur in Stoic lists (*arete* 'moral excellence', *gnosis* 'knowledge', *egkrateia* 'self-control', *eusebeia* 'piety'); to this are added the distinctly Christian virtues of faith, per-

severance, godliness, brotherly affection, and love.

Also see the extremely pertinent remarks on the "two-column scheme" listing the oppositions in a dual symbolic classification, by Rodney Needham in his introduction to Right & Left xxiv-xxx.

3. See Shaked, Sasanian Sages §s B14 - B46, + notes on p.284-88; 'goodness' representing the 'right-measure' (*paymān*) between excesses (virtues) and deficiencies (vices). On this passage, see further J. de Menasce, Une encyclopédie mazdéenne, Le Dēnkart 40f. Cf. above ch.2 n.15 (Dēnkard III §68).

4. M. Manzalaoui, "The pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitāb Sirr al-Asrār*, Facts and Problems", Oriens XXIII-XXIV/197 /147-257, on 176-9 & 196-201; & M. Grignaschi, "L'Origine et les Métamorphoses du '*Sirr al-Asrār*'". Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age XL/1976/7-112, on 14-9 (+ Appendix I), who muses that this set of tables in Arabic gnomological texts may ultimately derive from an Arabic summary of Galen's De Moribus. In his Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq, Yaḥyā b. ʿAdiy gives a table of twenty-one opposing virtues and vices seemingly drawing more on Christian teachings than Platonic or Aristotelian; see M. Fakhry, Ethical Theories in Islam [Leiden 1991] 102-4, & 112 n.24.

5. Eg. al-Bāqir's report in Ibn Bābawayh, Muṣādaqāt al-Ikhwān [Tehran n.d.] *bāb al-saʿy fī ḥawā'iji l-ikhwān*, 38-40: "Whoever walks to fulfill the need of his brother *muslim*, God will overshadow him with 75,000 angels, and he does not lift a foot save that God records a good deed and decrease from him an evil deed". Compare its version attributed to both Abū Hurayrah & Ibn ʿUmar } *marfūʿ* in al-Kharā'iṭī, Makārim al-Akhlāq 16-7 #91 & #92, + #93 (via al-

Ḥasan } Anas } the Prophet, but mentioning only seventy). And Seth leads the funeral prayers for Adam's burial at the head of 75 ranks of angels; al-Mas'ūdī, Ithbāt al-Waṣiyyah 75.

6. Ibn Fātik, Mukhtār al-Ḥikam 266-9, on 269: "*yā bunayya tafahham al-ḥikmah wa akhlāqahā kullahā wa ij'alhā la-ka shughlan wa farrigh nafsaka la-hā...*". Compare Luqmān's "*tafahham al-ḥikmah wa akhlāqahā!*" with al-Ṣādiq's "*i'rifū l-'aqla wa junūdahu!*".

7. G.J. Brooke, "Florilegia", A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation, ed. R.J. Coggins & J.L. Houlden [Philadelphia 1990] 235-7, on 237. Further, the useful overviews by H.M. Rochais, *et al*, "Florilèges Spirituelles", Dictionnaire de Spiritualité Ascetique et Mystique [Paris 1962] V cols. 435-512, esp. Marcel Richard on the "Florilèges Grecs" 475-512; and Henry Chadwick, "Florilegium", Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum [Stuttgart 1969] VII 1131-60.

8. See the articles by Averil Cameron: "Disputations, Polemical Literature and the Formation of Opinion in the Early Byzantine Period", in Dispute Poems and Dialogues in the Ancient and Mediaeval Near East, ed. G.J. Reinink, *et al.*, [Leuven 1991] 91-108; "The Eastern Provinces in the 7th Century A.D., Hellenism and the Emergence of Islam", in 'Hellenismos': Quelques Jalons pour une Histoire de l'Identité Grecque, ed. S. Said [Leiden 1991] 287-313; "New Themes and Styles in Greek Literature", in The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East I, ed. A. Cameron & L.I. Conrad [Princeton 1992] 96-106. For the role of monastic *apophthegmata* (collections of sayings modeled on Wisdom books) and the 'Question & Answer' format, see the contribu-

tion by J. Haldon to the volume edited by Cameron & Conrad, "The Works of Anastasius of Sinai: A Key Source for the History of Seventh-Century East Mediterranean Society and Belief" 107-47; Haldon notes the need to co-ordinate Arabic and Ethiopic materials with the Greek or Syriac, stressing points of cultural continuity.

9. The parallels of the 'disputation' and 'question & answer' genres with early *ḥadīth*, their utility for inter-confessional polemic and for reassuring cultural identity or self-definition, are well known; eg. J. Haldon, "Works of Anastasius of Sinai" 116-25 & 143-7. Concerning when a genre in one tradition finds close parallels in another (whether by connection or contrast), or merely shares a common heritage, see the illustrative case by S.P. Brock, "A Dispute of the Months and Some Related Syriac Texts", Journal of Semitic Studies XXX/1985/181-211.

10. This is not the place to enter into the complicated problem of the literary basis for the transmission of early Muslim *ḥadīth* narratives, involving the reciprocal interplay of *samāʿ* & *qirā'ah* with *kitābah* necessary for accurate transmission. The presumed oral-aural primacy of *samāʿ* 'audition' from an early period has been generally overrated by Occidental scholars, with a resulting scepticism towards the authenticity of early texts. This can be gleaned from references in the *rijāl* literature to '*ṣaḥīḥ al-kitāb*' vs. '*ḥifẓ*', and the techniques of *wijādah & munāwalah*, among the early transmission techniques in the practice of Islamic teaching. See F. Sezgin's introduction to his Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums I (1967), along with the important re-assesment of the 'dichotomy' between the oral & written transmission of texts accomplished by Gregor Schoeler (Der Islam LXII/201-30, LXVI/38-67, LXVI/213-51,

LXIX/1-43); and the studies by Harald Motzki on ʻAbd al-Razzāq's Muṣannaf (Journal of Near Eastern Studies L/1-21, & Der Islam LXVIII/1-44); as well as the recent overview by C.H.M. Versteegh, Arabic Grammar and Qur'ānic Exegesis in Early Islam [Leiden 1993] 43-61.

11. R.P. Blake, "La Littérature grecque en Palestine au VIIIe siècle", Le Muséon LXXVIII/1965/367-80; A. Cameron, "Hellenism and the Emergence of Islam", 299-302; idem, "New Themes and Styles in Greek Literature", 96-103; & G.G. Stroumsa, "Religious Contacts in Byzantine Palestine", 25-34.

12. Studied by Sidney Griffith; see his articles collected in Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of 9th-Century Palestine [Variorum 1992], esp. chaps. II, III, VII, & VIII.

13. We rely in particular on M. Richard, "Florilèges Grecs", Dict. de Spiritualité V 475-86 (for the Damascene Florilegia). Richard draws on the textual study of K. Holl, Die Sacra Parallela des Johannes Damascenus [TU 16,1 (N.F. 1,1) Leipzig 1897, not seen], particularly 204-6 & 283-302 (on the scholia of the index to MS. Vat.gr. 1553, permitting one to establish the list of the seventy parallels of the long recension of Bk. 3). One text of Sacra was published by Migne, Patrologie Grecque XCV 1069-1588, & XCVI 9-442. The work has not been preserved integrally, but gave birth to a series of collections derived from it, allowing partial reconstruction of varying recensions.

14. The category 'Biblical' included frequent extracts in Sacra from the writings of Philo, and from the Alexandrian Jewish writing Wisdom of Solomon (written ca.

mid-1st century B.C.E.) commonly cited in patristic literature and in the florilegium. See C. Larcher, Le Livre de la Sagesse où La Sagesse de Salom ι [Paris 1983] I 58-60. pointing to the exceptionally heavy use the Sacra made of this seminal Wisdom text, "exploité d'une façon plus continue et plus systematique".

Wisdom of Solomon, which glorifies the Heavenly Firstborn *Sophia* of light in Stoic & Middle-Platonic language, had been influential in Eastern Christian circles for centuries (Coptic-Sahidic, Ethiopic-Ge'ez, various Syriac, and later Arabic versions), and was sometimes placed among the books of the New Testament in Greek. The Ethiopian version (like the Armenian) was taken to be part of the Old Testament. The Rabbis ignored it. See C. Larcher, op. cit. 65-74; idem, Études sur le Livre de la Sagesse [Paris 1969] 36-63 (for its role in patristics); D. Winston, The Wisdom of Solomon [New York 1979 = Anchor Bible #43] 65-8; & M. Gilbert, "Sagesse de Salomon", Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément XI 58-119.

15. M. Richard, "Florilèges Grecs" 479-80 (following K. Holl), suggests a reconstruction of the order and number of the opposing pairs. One family of versions places 'faith', 'charity*love', & 'hope' as the beginning three virtues with their respective vices. The longer recension begins with the pair 'virtue|vice', then social functions, family morals, social morals, inner virtues, God's injunctions, the theological virtues, ending with reward & punishment. As Richard stresses, the original order and even the number of "seventy" pairs, are all uncertain.

16. During the first century of Muslim rule the Arabs had to rely on Christian scribes to handle the caliphal and provincial archives (eg. St. John of Damascus & his father),

and slightly later also on Persian *mawālī* in the state chancery (*dīwān al-rasā'il*). During the same period, Christians were often asked to instruct Muslim children in reading and writing, and were prominent as copyists of the Qur'ān (*warrāqūn*) for their Muslim patrons. See eg. Versteegh, Arabic Grammar and Qur'ānic Exegesis 29, citing the canons of Jacob of Edessa (d.708 CE).

17. See the material on ethical lists of opposing qualities on a binary basis in texts explicitly derived from Iranian sources, adduced by Shaked, "Paymān" 228-9 nn.31 & 32. Eg. the speech attributed to Hurmuzd b. Kisrā comprising more than sixty pairs of "falsely related qualities", from pseudo-Aṣma'ī, Nihāyat al-Arab; Dinawārī, Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl, ed. V. Guirgass [Leiden 1898] 77f.; & cf. Miskawayh, Jāwidān Khirad\al-Ḥikmat al-Khālidah, ed. 'A.-R. Badawī [Cairo 1952] 33, 49. Nevertheless, these materials do not give prominence to the figure of Heavenly Wisdom as chief trait in the manner of al-Ṣādiq's narrative. The Mēnōg-ī Xrad is being freshly translated and studied by Touraj Daryaee (University of California, Los Angeles); could aspects of this work have been a response to Islamic ideas?

18. First published by Ahmed Subhi Furat in Şarkiyat Meçmuasi [Edebiyat Fakültesi, Istanbul University] V/1964/95-133, text on 119-33; 119 = primary list of fifty 'assistants' of **'aql**, & 119-33 = successive scholia for each of **'aql**'s first seventeen 'assistants' [+ 127-9: three extra 'assistants' absent from the primary listing are interpolated]. Also ed. W.A. 'AbdAllāh,appended to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's al-A'dā' wa l-Nafs [Alexandria 1991] 183-210; 183 = primary list, & 84-210 = scholia. Further, see O. Yahya, "L'oeuvre de Tirmiḏī (essai bibliographique)", in Mélanges Louis Massignon [Damascus 1957] III 411-80, on 422-3 #9; &

B. Radtke, Al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmiḏī 42.

19. al-ʿAql wa l-Hawā, ed. Furat, 120; & ed. ʿAbdAllāh, 185. Compare his employment of "*al-ʿaql al-akbar*" in his Awliyā' work (above ch.3 §I.A.iii).

20. For more on al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's approach to *akhlāq*, see ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿAbdAllāh Barakah, Fī l-Taṣawwuf wa l-Akhlāq, dirāsāt wa l-nuṣūṣ [3rd ed., Cairo 1989] 87-97. Genevieve Gobillot signals that al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī was well-acquainted with Shīʿite traditions stemming from al-Ṣādiq; "Un Penseur de l'Amour (Ḥubb), Le Mystique Khurāsānien Al-Ḥakīm Al-Tirmidhī (m. 318/930)", Studia Islamica LXXIII/1991/25-44, on 27 + n.13.

21. Following the order of al-Ḥakīm's primary listing (al-ʿAql wa l-Hawā on p.119\183), the four pairs are [numeration *per* the numbering in al-Ṣādiq's 75 *jund*, c..5 above]: ## 26, 18, 81 [=interpolated order], & 7; the remaining fifteen identical traits: ## 13, 47, 20, 44, 48, 18, 15, 80, 40, 31, 41, 9, 66, 30, 39.

22. Al-Muḥāsibī, Kitāb al-ʿIlm, ed. & trans. L. Librande, "Islam and Conservation: The Theologian-Ascetic Al-Muḥāsibī", Arabica XXX/1983/125-146, text on 141 line 13f. > trans. 135-6. Also ed. M. al-ʿĀbid Mazālī [Tunis & al-Jazā'ir n.d.] text 81-99, on 83-5. Further: the discussion by F. Rosenthal, Knowledge Triumphant 177-9, & 179-81 on al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's Bayān al-ʿIlm and his dependence on al-Muḥāsibī. See in particular the tabular presentation of qualities given by Mazālī in his edition of al-Muḥāsibī's ʿIlm 131-5, comparing al-Muḥāsibī's virtues & vices with the similar lists in al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's al-Akyās wa l-Mughtarrīn, and with al-Ghazālī's *kitāb al-ʿilm* of Iḥyā'. →

Abū ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d.412/1021) gives sixty-eight base qualities/*ʻayb* & sins/*dhanab* of the *nafs* (the human personality), each with its opposing remedy, in his popularizing Ṣūfī *adab* work ʻUyūb al-Nafs wa Mudāwātuhā, ed. E. Kohlberg [Jerusalem 1976] §4 - §72.

23. When introducing al-Muḥāsibī's ʻIlm, Librande places it against the background of the 75 *jund* of al-Ṣādiq ("Islam and Conservation" 129-30), describing al-Ṣādiq's report as: "a highly practical form of knowledge equivalent to the moral virtues and specific patterns of behaviour". Jaʻfar's list includes most of the five pillars (## 3, 51 - 54).

24. Amir-Moezzi prefers to accentuate its cosmogonic aspect, which he views as a doctrinal development within Shīʻī thought "qui brise les cadres des définitions coraniques et fait de lui [*ʻaql*] une sorte de Morale cosmique prototype métaphysique de la morale humaine, en guerre contre l'Immoralité cosmique"; Guide Divin 21. W. Chittick points to the seventy-five *jund* and to the Century of *ʻaql* as "prototypes for the later discussions of the *maqāmāt* or 'stations' of spiritual perfection in Ṣūfīsm" (E.Ir. I 195b); he is followed in this by S. Murata (Tao of Islam 239).

25. See B. Radtke, "Psychomachia in der Sufik", Studia Iranica, Cahier 11 (1992) 135-42. This reference is due to the kindness of Professor J. van Ess.

26. See Q *al-Nūr* 24:35 (the famous light verse), & cf. 24:40.

27. The occurence of "*qāla, fa-qāla l-rabb*" points to the '*ḥadīth*'-format of this piece, with *qāla* being a *rāwī*'s for-

mula introducing speech-quotations; here probably "the Prophet\Imām said:..." was intended.

28. "*Bi-ka uṭāʿu wa bi-ka ushkaru wa bi-ka uʿṭā*"; or perhaps *uʿṭī* "by means of thee\on thy account I bestow". Alternatively, one may construe *bi-ka* here as: "in proportion to thee, according to thy measure".

29. See also Ghawr\Aʿdāʾ 82 & 106-7, for the empowerment of Adam and Iblīs with one hundred *akhlāq*; and al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's mention of one hundred *khuluq* as the perfection of the *murūʾah* of Muḥammad (with reference to Q *al-Qalam* 68:4 "*wa innaka la-ʿalā khuluqin ʿaẓīmin*"), in his Bayān al-Kasb, ed. ʿA.-F.ʿA. Barakah [Cairo 1976] 182-3.

Al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhī says in introducing the *junūd* of Iblīs (Ghawr\Aʿdāʾ 155): "*la-hu akhlāqu l-sūʾi miʾatun, wa kamā annna malika l-maʿrifati l-ʿaqlu kadhālika l-hawā malikuh*". This should probably be corrected to "*malika l-ʿaqli l-maʿrifatu*" or "*malika l-maʿrifati li-l-ʿaqli*", in keeping with ibid. 165: "*fa-jaʿala [Allāhu] l-hawā malikan [li-Iblīs] wa jaʿala mā uʿṭiya tābiʿan la-hu wa aʿwānan wa junūdan kamā jaʿala [li-] l-ʿaql mā uʿṭiya junūdan wa aʿwānan*". Compare his treatment of *hawā* as the earthly *jawharatu l-nafs* ("*li-kulli shayʾin nafsun wa nafsu l-nafsi l-hawā*") inclined to pleasure and desires which only *maʿrifah* can subdue, in his Adab al-Nafs 114-7; + cf. above ch.5 n.103, on esoteric Shīʿī views of Iblīs.

30. Eg. Sīrat al-Awliyāʾ, in Radtke, Drei Schriften, 63 §87 line 3, & 93 §120 line 11; and Maʿrifat al-Asrār 84 & 88. One might compare the report from al-Ṣādiq that God created the *muʾminūn* from "*nūr ʿaẓamatihi wa jalāl kibriyāʾihi*", ch.5 n.84. Yet exact comparisons are difficult to draw, and one would have to cast a much wider net than the slender

indications provided here.

31/Arnaldez, "Ma'rifa", E.I.[2] VI on 569; Arnaldez stresses the modality of 'knowing' conveyed by the term *ma'rifah* as an "illuminative cognition" (570a) operating a "loss of consciousness of the self" or "an absence of self at the level of the heart and the spirit" (569b), in contrast to "*gnosis* unitive vision".

32. We have not seen the study by Yves Marquet, Al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmidī et le néoplatonisme de son temps [Dakar 1976].

33. Murata observes of Ja'far's narrative on the seventy-five *jund*: "Implicit to this discussion is the fact that the attributes of intellect pertain to the prophets, while those of ignorance pertain to Iblīs and his followers" (Tao of Islam 239). She points out that "intellect is the prophet's microcosmic analogue", invoking the remarks of Fayḍ-i Kāshānī in his Ā'īna-yi Shāhī: "Intellect is a revealed law [*Sharī'ah*] with the human being, ... the source of all good qualities and the origin of all perfections is the intellect" (Tao 139-40). Cf. al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, Tafṣīl al-Nash'atayn 41-3.

34. A number of significant *'aql* sayings are reported of the seminal Ṣūfī Dhū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d.246/860); see eg. Ḥilyat IX 378 (on the Prophet: "*innamā l-'āqil man 'aqala 'an Allāh...*"); Ṣifat IV 287-8-9; Ibn al-Jawzī, Adhkiyā' 12.

35. See Radtke, "Psychomachia in der Sufik" 135f.; & the comments by E. Kohlberg in his introd. to al-Sulamī's 'Uyūb al-Nafs 16-7, depicting this work as sharing a middle ground between *ḥadīth, adab,* & *akhlāq*/ethics, serving a popular didactic function as well as basic guidance to the Ṣūfī

novice. Kohlberg notes that the traits cultivated in Ṣūfī *adab* of the type found in ʿUyūb were characteristic of the early *zuhhād*. Further, G. Böwering, "The *Adab* Literature of Classical Sufism", in Moral Conduct and Authority, ed. B.D. Metcalf [Berkeley & Los Angeles 1984] 62-87.

36. Ed. & trans. D. Levine, The Bustān al-Ukūl\The Garden of Wisdom [New York, Columbia University Press 1908]; see 15-17 for his listing of seventy opposed pairs. Also ed. J. Kappah [Jerusalem 1954, not seen]. On al-Fayyūmī see Shlomo Pines, "Nathanael ben Al-Fayyūmī et la théologie ismaélienne", Bulletin des Études Historiques Juives I (Cairo 1946) 7-22.

37. This report is placed by al-Ṭūsī as a peroration capping the long wisdom testament of the Prophet to Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī (Amālī 138-156), a significant piece of Islamic Wisdom which includes key elements on *al-ʿaql*. It would be interesting to compare al-Ṭūsī's version with the multiple Sunnī forms of this wisdom piece.

38. Al-Majlisī indicates that he extracted this report from two works of Ibn Bābawayh: al-Khiṣāl (?) and ʿIlal al-Sharāʾiʿ (yet it is not in the printed edition of ʿIlal edited by Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm). He provides the same *isnād* as in Maʿānī l-Akhbār; while al-Ṭūsī only gives an abbreviated chain *via* al-Ṣādiq... } the Prophet.

39. Is he the associate of the 8th imam al-Riḍā, mentioned once in Twelver literature in R.Kishshī 457 #864 (reprimanded by al-Riḍā for consorting with the *al-Wāqifah*)?

40. The father is mentioned by Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī as an

associate of al-Kāẓim, in R.Ṭūsī 364 #20: Yazīd b. al-Ḥasan al-Kaḥḥāl *mawlā* Zayd b. ʻAlī; strangely absent from Tanqīh. His son ʻAyyāsh (or ʻAbbās) is apparently unknown in Twelver bio-bibliographic literature. Compare the identical *isnād* in Ibn Bābawayh, Tawḥīd, *bāb 32,* 234-6 #2: ... M. b. ʻĀṣim al-Ṭurayfī } Abū Zayd ʻAbbās b. Yazīd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʻAlī al-Kaḥḥāl *mawlā* Zayd b. ʻAlī } *abīhi* } al-Kāẓim } al-Ṣādiq...; & *bāb 34,* 238-41 #1: ...Abū Zayd ʻAyyāsh b. Yazīd...; & *bāb 41,* 288-9 #7, on *maʻrifat Allāh* [some Mss. read *al-Ḍaḥḥāk* in place of *al-Kaḥḥāl*]. These reports indicate that Ibn Bābawayh drew from a written source.

Might he be the same "Yazīd b. al-Ḥusayn" mentioned as compiler of a K. al-Nawādir in: R.Najāshī II 432 #1227; F.Ṭūsī 182 #793; Tanqīh III 325 #13121. Any connection with the close disciple of al-Kāẓim, "Yazīd b. Sulayṭ *al-Zaydī*" (R.Ṭūsī 363 #3; Tanqīh III 326-7 #13128), whose *nasab* was said not to indicate any partisanship to the Zaydiyyah Shīʻah?

41. Following the text of Maʻānī : *wa l-ra'fah famuhu*. Biḥār & Amālī have instead: "tender-pity to be his mind/*hammuhu*"; *al-hamm* or *al-himmah* 'understanding', in the sense of high-minded aspiration or noble ambition.

42. Thus Maʻānī & Biḥār, while Amālī has *al-taṣdīq* "assenting to truth".

43. Thus Maʻānī & Biḥār, while Amālī has *al-qanāʻah*.

44. These qualities of pure monotheism bear some resemblance to a report defining *maʻrifat Allāh*, on a problematic *isnād*... } the Basran Muḥammad b. Sinān al-ʻAwaqī (d.223, Tahdhīb IX 205-6 #322) } the Kufan *Murji'ī* Muḥammad b. Yaʻlā al-Sulamī *zunbūr* (d.205, Jarḥ VIII 130-1 #587, T.Baghdād III

447-8, Mīzān IV 70-1, Tahdhīb IX 533-4 #875) } Juwaybir b. Sa'īd al-Azdī (d.140-50, Tahdhīb II 123-4 #200) } al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim } Ibn 'Abbās } *marfū'*; included by Ibn Bābawayh, Tawḥīd, *bāb 40*, 284-5 #5.

45. Rendering "*a'azza min-ka*" thus, rather than "more powerful than thee".

46. Thus Ma'ānī & Biḥār, but Amālī has instead "*wa bi-ka uḥāsibu* by means of thee I call to account".

47. But Amālī has instead "*wa bi-ka uttaqā* by means of thee am I dreaded".

48. Cf. Q 3:28,30 "*wa yuḥadhdhirukumu llāhu nafsahu* God cautions you against Himself\His punishment".

49. Amālī has instead "*wa bi-ka l-dhanb* by means of thee is the misdeed". Recall that *bi-ka* in this 'listing' may be construed as "in accordance with thy measure...".

50. "*Ishfa' tushaffa'!*", ie. <Petition on behalf of someone (that he be forgiven), for your petition shall be accepted and your intercession on his behalf shall elicit God's mercy>. This is also known in the form of a *ḥadīth*; cf. Q 2:255 "Who is he that dare intercede with Him save by His permission?"; & Q 4:85. The act of petitioning\intercession on behalf of another is effected when the petitioner joins himself to another and becomes a partner (*shafī'*) in good or evil; thus he partakes with him in procuring the benefit or the harm of the deed [Lexicon, *sh.f.'*.].

51. Amālī has instead: "You are witnesses to the fact that...".

52. K. Rudolf, "Ein Grundtyp Gnostischer Urmensch-Adam Spekulation", Zeitschrift für Religions und Geistesgeschichte IX/1957/1-20; and R. van den Broek, "The Creation of Adam's Psychic Body in the Apocryphon of John", Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions for G. Quispel, ed. R. van den Broek & M.J. Vermaseren [Leiden 1981] 38-57, who observes that the seven-fold order of "the components of Adam's psychic body correspond to those of the carnal body in [Plato's] Timaeus" (45). For the passage in Apoc.John, see the translation by F. Wisse in The Nag Hammadi Library in English, ed. J.M. Robinson [3rd ed., Leiden 1988] 104-23, the passage in question on 113 [=NHC II,1. 15:1-21].

The ancient notion that the seven planets create a psychic body was linked in AJ with the doctrine that the soul during its descent from heaven assumed an astral body, the 'pneumatic vehicle' of the rational soul taught eg. by the Chaldaean Oracles & the Syrian philosopher Numenius, & developed in great complexity by the Neoplatonists in their teaching on the *ochema* 'chariot'. This vehicule of the soul was held to exhibit the vital and psychic faculties it received during its descent through the planetary spheres. AJ was still in use among certain Gnostic circles (eg. the Audians, linked with Dayṣānites) in Mesopotamia as late as the 8th century CE.

The passage in AJ may lie behind the depiction of the creation of Adam's body in one version of the Century of *ʻAql* attributed to Wahb b. Munabbih which portrays a heptad moving progressively outward (brain, kidney, liver, heart, lungs, spleen, & face); see ch.3 n.42.

53. Eg. in AJ the seven archons or aspects of the

androgynous planet_ary rulers each create a particular element of Adam's psychic body starting with *Ennoia* 'insight' as the marrow-soul (=brain) ... to *Sophia* 'wisdom' as the hair-soul [in short version in NHC III,1:22f.]; see NHC II,1:15 - 30 > trans. Wisse, Nag Hammadi Library 113; & R. van den Broek, "Creation of Adam's Psychic Body" 46. In the Alexandrian Gnostic On the Origin of the World (in NHC II,5:101.24 - 102.1 > trans. H.-G. Bethge & B. Layton, Nag Hammadi Library 174), the names of the seven androgynous beings creating Adam progress from *Pronoia* 'foresight' ... 'wisdom'. The wisdom element thus crowns the endeavour.

54. Uṣūl II *kitāb al-īmān wa l-kufr*, 56 #2 > Abū l-Faḍl al-Ṭabrisī, Mishkāt al-Anwār 238. These ten are: *yaqīn, qanā'ah, ṣabr, shukr, ḥilm, ḥusn al-khuluq, sakhā', ghayrah, shajā'ah, murū'ah*. See our treatment of the genre of *'aql* decades, "Islamic Decalogues in Sapiential Perspective", Numen (forthcoming).

55. For a good sampling of such materials in translation, see A Shī'ite Anthology, trans. W. Chittick [London 1980] 27-39.

56. See Q 7:14, 15:36f., & 38:79f.; and the reports in al-Mas'ūdī, Ithbāt al-Waṣiyyah 13-4, on "*al-'ālim*" (al-Ṣādiq?): one *sajdah* of 4,000 years on earth after his fall, whereby Iblīs concedes he will not lead astray the *mu'minūn*. Also 'Ilal *bāb 305*, 525-6 (two reports from al-Ṣādiq): #1, two *rak'ahs* in heaven of 2,000, or 4,000 years [+ al-Qummī, Tafsīr I 42]; & #2, *rak'atān* of 7,000 years. In a tale about Iblīs and John the Baptist recounted by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Iblīs regrets his explusion from heaven where he used to prostrate for 40,000 years; Ghawr\A'ḍā' 161.

57. A.J. Wensinck, "Shafāʿa", SEI 511-2, who points to the Qur'ānic passages crediting the power of intercession to the angels (21:28, 40:7, 42:5), and that *shafāʿah* is only possible with God's permission (*Maryam* 19:87 *lā yamlikūna l-shafāʿata illā man ittakhadha ʿinda l-Raḥmān ʿahdan*). Notice how in al-Kāẓim's report God consults the angels when granting the power of intercession to *ʿaql*.

58. Ibid. 512; denied by the Muʿtazilah for the *ahl al-kabā'ir*/perpetrators of grave sins.

59. Crow, "Death of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī", 89f. & 116.

60. Ibn Bābawayh, Faḍā'il al-Shīʿah, ed. H. Fashāhī [Tehran n.d.] 7 #7. There is a nexus between *al-ʿālīna* and *al-rūḥāniyyīn*, both linked to the Throne; see above ch.5 nn.83, 84, & 90; & Uṣūl I *k. al-ḥujjah, bāb nādir jāmiʿ fī faḍl al-imām*, #2 on 204 > al-Masʿūdī, Ithbāt 179 ("...*ẓillan qabla khalqi nasamatin ʿan yamīni ʿarshih*"). Further, J. Horovitz & R. Paret, "ʿIlliyyūn", E.I.² III 1133a (*ʿilliyyūn* < Hebrew *ʿelyōnīm* 'heavenly beings'); Kohlberg, "Imām and Community" 31, & 48 n.48 (*ʿilliyyūn* as both a place & a substance); & cf. Amir-Moezzi, Guide Divin 79-80 (*ʿarsh*), 99-100 (*ʿilliyyūn* & Throne).

61. This report is found in the edition of Ikhtiṣāṣ by M.M. al-Kharsān [Najaf, al-Ḥaydariyyah 1390/1971] 237, again without *isnād*, introduced simply by "*wa qāla al-Ṣādiq*, a.s.", and with the identical text. Gratitude to Professor ʿĪsā Boullata for confirming this reading.

62. This vague type of *isnād* earned al-Barqī the disapprobation of the critics.

63. Though Uṣūl has *dhākiran* 'recollected' or 'mindful', the parallel pieces on al-Ṣādiq in ʿIlal, *bāb 91*, 103 #2, and in *bāb 96*, 108-9 #6 > Tuḥaf 260, instead read *dhakiyyan* 'mentally-acute' or 'quick-of-apprehension'. This reading may well be correct, since one treatment of the same pentad of perceptive powers by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī gives: *fahm, dhihn, dhakā', ḥifẓ, & ʿilm* as comprising *nūr al-maʿrifah* inspired within the 'Clay' of Adam (*rūḥ, & nūr al-ḥayāt*), with *maʿrifah = min faʿli l-ʿabd* & the five powers as God's gift (*"hunna min Allāhi li-ʿabdihi wa laysa ilā ʿabdihi min-hinna shay'"*); see Ghawr\Aʿdā' 111-3.

Compare similar schemes in al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Jawāb al-Masā'il...Ahl Sarakhs, ed. Radtke, Drei Schriften, 139 §2 lines 5-6: *"wa quwwatu l-qalbi min al-maʿrifah wa l-ʿaql wa l-ʿilm wa l-fahm wa l-dhihn wa l-fiṭnah wa l-ḥifẓ..."*; & 168 §20 lines 4-5: *"wa yaḥtāju l-ʿabdu ilā an yaʿtaṣima bi-llāhi wa yujāhida nafsahu bi-quwwati mā uʿṭiya min al-ʿilm wa l-ʿaql wa l-fahm wa l-ḥifẓ wa l-dhihn wa l-mawāʿiẓ..."*; [also ed. ʿA. Barakah, Ādāb al-Murīdīn 37 & 107]. Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī includes among his list of the forty-six 'parts' of prophecy/*nubuwwah*, the traits of *ʿaql, fahm, fiṭnah, & dhakā'*; Maʿrifat al-Asrār 68.

64. *"ʿArafa majrāhu wa mawṣūlahu wa mafṣūlahu"*; evidently to be construed in terms of his relation to God, although a more interior meaning may be read.

65. *Kāna mustadrikan li-mā fāta wa wāridan ʿalā mā huwa āta*; perhaps to be rendered - "a repairer of the past and a preparer of the morrow".

66. Much valuable material from Twelver literature on the topic of *al-ru'ya bi-l-qalb* is gathered by Amir-Moezzi, Guide Divin 112-45 "la vision par le coeur" > Divine Guide

44-55.

67. Uṣūl I *kitāb al-ʿaql wa l-jahl*, 11 #3, on a very meagre *isnād*. A form of al-Ṣādiq's saying is reworked into the composite *waṣiyyah* of the Prophet to ʿAlī; Ibn Bābawayh, Man Lā Yaḥḍuruhu l-Faqīh IV 267.

AFTERWORD

> "Without feeling and instinct, as every man with a normal reason must know, the real understanding accessible to man cannot be formed."
> — G. I. Gurdjieff

> "Spirit is simply mind at its purest."
> — Antonio Morales Baca

We have been tracing the unfolding of a fundamental idea in early Islamic thought and practice, the notion of *ʿaql* 'intelligence*reason' as an inborn trait of the human constitution, divinely created and installed within every individual person in varying measures. God's gift of *ʿaql* as the most eminent human moral trait empowers the person to achieve knowledge of the Creator (*maʿrifat Allāh*), of revealed guidance, and the practice of virtue. This endowment, so cherished by God that He lauds it extravagently in the 'encomium' of the *Aqbil!* reports as the dearest thing to Him, must be seen as central to His providential design of the universe He crafted to meet man's every need. Islamic Wisdom teachings certainly viewed *ʿaql* to be the leading light of humans, their chief adornment and glory.

The intelligence is the recipient of divine address in the operation of moral responsibility, being tied to its function as God's *ḥujjah* 'decisive argument' against man. In this sense it operates much like the 'conscience' (cf. *zājir* internal 'chider'), instrumental in self-reproach and

self-examination. Yet it may also function as an intercessor on behalf of the individuals in whom it is placed, pleading their case before God as an advocate (ch.6 §II #28). The double-faced nature of intelligence able to turn towards, or turn a deaf ear away from, the calling of Truth,[1] reflects an integral aspect of moral responsibility. This remains true at a basic level where *ʿaql* plays a legal religious role as a necessary condition for adult mental capacity, legal responsibility, and the reception of knowledge (*bulūgh al-ʿaql* 'age of majority'; cf. *aḍrās al-ʿaql* 'wisdom teeth'). This is essential for the reality of God's justice (eg. *thawāb & ʿiqāb*).

*

In following the permutations of this class of reports on the creation of *ʿaql*, the large common ground between the Sunnī and the Shīʿī handling of it will not have escaped the attentive reader. The matrix of 'tradition' shared by these two primary wings of the early Muslim community expresses itself in a similar, and sometimes the same, way. However, there is an obvious gulf separating the forms and the intent of the (Sunnī & Shīʿī) reports in ch.1, from those reports on the Heavenly Sapiential *ʿAql* in ch.4 ## 22 - 24, and the *Aqbil* versions in chs.5 - 6. Our final remarks focus on the parallels and divergencies existing among this latter group (## 22 - 29), and attempt to discern what these more

embellished reports may teach one about the enrichment of meaning of the *ʿaql*-notions during the second century AH.

In Dāwūd's report #22 (*via*... Anas } Ibn Salām } M.) the creation of *ʿaql* is portrayed as greater than God's Throne. When the angels ask the Lord, "what degree is attained by the 'measure*rank' of *al-ʿaql* and the grandeur of its nature (*wa mā balagha min qadri l-ʿaqli wa ʿiẓami khalqih?*)", God declares that *ʿaql*'s measure is greater than the number of 'grains of sand' in the world, and its comprehension is beyond the grasp of the angels. The thrust of Dāwūd's report is that those who receive compounded measures of *ʿaql* are people who "labor in obedience to God" in proportion to the light God placed in their hearts. The divine provision of *ʿaql* functions as their 'custodian' (*qayyim*), and in proportion to that provision they strive and "rise in degrees". In another of Dāwūd's reports (ch.4 n.7) a similar stress is put on 'assiduous diligence' (*jidd*) and 'striving' (*ijtihād*), for "the greater of them in acts of obedience to God is the more amply endowed with intelligence (*awfaruhum ʿaqlan*)". Regretfully the *isnāds* for these reports are lacking, but they may safely be placed within Basran ascetic circles of ca. the mid-2nd century, probably part of the teaching of the ʿAbbādānī Ṣūfīs.

Similarly in Sulaymān al-Sijzī's report #23 (*via*... Abū Umāmah } M.; again stemming from the same circles as Dāwūd's

reports), *ʿAql* outweighs the entirety of God's creation, and the magnitude of *ʿAql*'s materiality is stressed. This report includes the divine 'encomium' lauding the eminence of *ʿaql* ("*mā khalaqtu khalqan...*"), and asserts that "the best of them in *ʿaql* is the best of them in deeds". Despite the glorification of the Heavenly Sapiential *ʿAql*, the close connection with the innate trait of human intelligence is never lost sight of. This emphasis on the intimate linkage between the Heavenly *ʿAql* as the glorious *khalq* of God, with the human *khuluq* present in people's constitutions, is explicit in the Shīʿī imam al-Kāẓim's report (ch.6 #28), where the Heavenly *ʿAql* is created from a treasured light ("*min nūrin makhzūnin maknūnin...*"). The heptad of qualities with which this *ʿAql* is empowered indicates the range of functions provided man's psychic being, while the decad of traits points to *ʿaql*'s ethical and affective role. We suggested that al-Kāẓim's report may be placed in the end of the 2nd century with his disciple Yazīd b. al-Ḥasan al-Kaḥḥāl (ch.6 n.40), and clearly draws on earlier elements.

The report given by the Shīʿī scholar Ibn Bābawayh on a Kufan-Medinese *isnād* of ʿUmarī-ʿAlid provenance (ch.4 #24) depicts the human trait of *ʿaql* as a drop of light cast into a person's heart by the Angelic *ʿAql*, the Heavenly analogue to the totality of human minds. God raises the curtain veiling each face of the heads on the Angelic *ʿAql* only when

the human individual reaches the term of legal majority, a person's *ʿaql* being a ray of light extending from the Angel *ʿAql* above. Again, the locus of *ʿaql* is the heart, the divine endowment of the inborn trait shining as a lamp in the midst of the body. The materiality of *ʿaql* is implied in the notion of a pre-set amount of *ʿaql* in creation. This multi-headed and multi-faced Angel-*ʿAql* evokes the Angel of Wisdom known from Jewish tradition (Metatron, Zagzagel, + the *shekīnah*; & cf. the Jewish-Christian 'angel*Christ'), a figure often depicted as enthroned in the Heavenly court (ch.4 n.36). A scrutiny of the *isnād* for report #24 likely places it with ʿĪsā al-Mubārak (ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdAllāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Akbar, d. ca. late second century). This descendant of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was closely associated with the Ḥusaynid ʿAlid imams,[2] and report #24 likely reflects notions at home in mid-to-late second century Shīʿī Iraqi or Ḥijāzī circles.

Coming to al-Ṣādiq's transformation of the *Aqbil!* report (ch.5 #25), it is evident that his placing the Heavenly *ʿAql* created from light in the Throne realm is not unique, and is matched by developments within his contemporary stream of Basran ascetic*mystic spirituality found in Dāwūd's reports. The crucial concept at the root of this light motif is expressed in the *ḥadīth* that *ʿaql* is "a light in the heart *nūrun fī l-qalb*". Like Jaʿfar, the Iraqi Ṣūfīs fastened on

the *Aqbil!* report to vehicule their particular concerns (see eg. ch.1 #8.a-b.). Ja'far himself felt free to integrate elements from the common stream of tradition into the framework of the *Aqbil!* report (eg. see ch.1 #13, the one hundred created measures of *'aql*). Iraqi ascetic*mystics of the late first and 1st half of the second century highlighted the importance of *'aql* for true obedience ("*man 'amila bi-ṭā'ati llāhi*") and salvific guidance (*najāt*), joining this with its corollary of 'disobeying the Devil' (*ma'ṣiyat Iblīs*, a pro-Qadarī formula). This Ṣūfī stream, deriving in large part from circles around al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, may thus be seen to have at least implied the Adam \ Iblīs dichotomy in the context of *'aql*'s creation.

But the mode in which al-Ṣādiq expands upon the *Aqbil!* framework in portraying God's empowerment of both *'Aql & Jahl*, and his integrating the listing of seventy-five powers in binary opposition, exceeds any enrichment of this framework known among second century Sunnī circles.[5] Further elements given prominence in his seventy-five *jund* are the stress on *ma'rifah* 'cognition' in the process of perfecting *'aql*, and the achievment of paradisial 'degrees' of perfection ranking alongside of the prophets and the saints (here *awṣiyā'*, the inheritors of the prophets). In placing the anthropic dimension (both Adam**'aql* and Iblīs**jahl*) at center stage in his creation narrative, al-Ṣādiq made a lasting

contribution, exemplified by the manner al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī received this trajectory in Ghawr\Aʿdā' (ch.6 #27).

Another key element in Jaʿfar's narrative centers on the Heavenly Sapiential ʿAql as "the first creature God created among the 'spiritual*immaterial beings'/*al-rūḥāniyyīn* on the right side of the Throne, from its light." The confluence in this report of Prophetic perfection, Throne light, and the First Spiritual Being is pregnant with implications for the emergence of the idea of the 'Muḥammadan Light' (*al-nūr al-muḥammadī*), the pre-existence of the spirit of the Prophet Muḥammad (ch.3 nn.48, 50, 51; + cf. ch.1 #13). What concerns us here is the impetus early Muslim notions of the Heavenly Sapiential ʿAql may have contributed to this key notion of Islamic spirituality, in the era before Muslims were studying Neoplatonic treatises in translation.

The Biblical pre-existent Heavenly Wisdom in the Throne realm had been the product of theological reflection upon ancient myths of an Angel (goddess) Wisdom hidden with God before His creation of the world (ch.4 n.23). Apocalyptic (Jewish & early Christian) and Gnostic enrichments had merged this figure with notions of the primal man, and this anthropic dimension was instrumental for the development of early christology and Gnostic *sophia*-logy. At the same time, 'second-hand' Middle-Platonic elements had an input into such speculations, and the 'hypostasis' of Heavenly

Wisdom had assimilated certain Hellenistic features with Philo, the Wisdom of Solomon, Valentinian Gnosis, and in the christology developed by the Christian Patristic Apologists. Furthermore, Iranian teachings on the 'Spirit of Wisdom' may well deserve more attention than we have devoted to them.

One may recall the refutation by Sa*ʿ*adyā Ga'ōn of a Neoplatonising interpretation of the term *rūḥānī* in the context of Proverbs 8:22 (ch.5 §II.A). We understand the 'hypostasis' of *ʿAql* in al-Ṣādiq's narrative of the seventy-five *jund* in terms of the function of pre-existent Wisdom as the manifestation of God's personal presence and guidance within the individual, linking this with the divine provision of *ʿaql* as a *khuluq* or *khaṣlah* (ie. a *gharīzah* 'innate trait'). The Neoplatonic implications may be merely incipient, or a diffuse shadow reflected from the previous mingling of Biblicist and Hellenistic traditions long before Islam. Yet it is difficult to deny the presence of enough latent potentiality towards a 'Neoplatonic element' which provides foundational supports for future constructions ("*awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-ʿaqlu*").

Like his peers among the Iraqi Ṣūfīs, al-Ṣādiq saw *ʿaql* to be God's most precious creation, linked with the divine Throne-light. This 'higher *ʿaql*' is greater than the sum of mankind's endowment. It is the source of all the individual portions measured out among humanity, and is possessed in

fullest measure only by perfected humanity, the Prophets and saints (Imāms). A corollary idea is that of the providential inequities in distribution of native intelligence (cf. ch.4 #22), enunciated in the notion of *tafḍīl\tafāwut al-ʿuqūl* 'dissimilarities in intelligences'. In one sense, this idea conveys that inequality is necessary for man's evolution and that without inequities and suffering human perfection would be meaningless. Through cognition (*maʿrifah*) and by the 'buttressing' of one's *ʿaql* through light (*ta'yīd al-ʿaql*, ch.6 #29), man grasps and perceives ultimate verities and pursues the course intended for him to traverse. Through *maʿrifah* and the empowerment supplied by *ʿaql* (ch.6 #30), man may attain paradisial exaltation, and join the company of perfected humanity ('prophetic-man'). This was the thrust of the enrichment of meaning which the *ḥukamā'** or 'wise ones' (*ʿuqalā'*) infused into their notion of *ʿaql*. It represents one cornerstone in the foundation for Islamic esoteric spirituality.

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When one stops to consider a single most outstanding or characteristic feature of essential Islamic teaching, the notion of *ʿilm* 'knowledge' commonly springs to mind, or perhaps *tawḥīd* the assertion of God's Unity. Rarely would an informed person offer *ʿaql* as a candidate. Yet during the first two centuries of Islam, the mystic-sages (*ḥukamā'*) or

the ascetic*mystics (*ṣāliḥūn & zuhhād*) may well have come forward with such an offering. This cognitive elite of the early generations of Muslims held that 'Intelligence' or 'Understanding' was the most surpassing human faculty by which to worship God, to render obedience to Him, and to acquire the knowledge of virtue: the knowledge of good and evil. This sapiential knowledge teaches the cultivation of good traits and the extirpation of vices, the struggle against one's own nature and the purification of one's true self. Without this practice of knowledge, no higher understanding is possible.

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NOTES

1. Almost all versions of the *Aqbil!* report have *ʿaql* perform both an *iqbāl* and an *idbār* at God's request, demonstrating his hearing-obedience. Yet the (archaic?) version in ch.2 #15 makes *ḥumq* 'stupidity' perform the mirror opposite of *ʿaql*'s motion. Al-Ṣādiq has *Jahl* perform the *idbār* correctly, but not the *iqbāl*, when addressed by God; ch.5 #25. Again, this is an indication of Jaʿfar's originality in handling the tradition by integrating it together with the Adam-Iblīs cycle. In the Iblīs cycle of tales, he disobeys God in a conceited effort to obey Him according to his own (mistaken) notion of obedience; Iblīs is therefore depicted as 'one-eyed'. Jaʿfar's *Jahl**Iblīs is thus a reverse model for the 'fallen' *ʿaql*, refusing to 'hear' and 'comprehend' the invitation to face forward.

2. ʿĪsā's mother was al-Ṣādiq's neice (the daughter of al-Ṣādiq's brother ʿAbdAllāh); ʿĪsā's father was an associate of al-Ṣādiq and was said to have transmitted from al-Bāqir; ʿĪsā's grandfather Muḥammad (killed in Medinah in 145/762 at the orders of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Manṣūr) was an associate of al-Ṣādiq and also said to have been an associate of imam al-Sajjād. The family lived in Medinah, and ʿĪsā seems to have settled in Kufah or Baghdad; see ch.4 nn.29-31.

3. The only possible exception known to us is the form of the 'Century' of *ʿaql* attributed to Wahb b. Munabbih by his descendent ʿAbd al-Munʿim b. Idrīs b. Sinān b. Umm Salamah bint Wahb (d.228/842 in Baghdad at an advanced age). This interesting piece integrates Galenic humoral pathology,

Neopythagorean elements, and Gnostic teachings on Adam's psychic body of the type known from the Apoc.John, with the Christian monastic genre of one hundred topoi, and might be dated as early as the mid-to-late 2nd century AH. But it lacks any connection with the *Aqbil!* trajectory of reports; see ch.3 n.42.

4. Recall that the ascetic*mystics deemed the Sages (*ḥukamā'*) to be the true heirs of the prophets; see Rosenthal, Knowledge Triumphant 38.

ADDENDA[1]

—> A. Later Ṣūfī versions of the *Aqbil!* report:

<for ch.1 p.13 #3> The Persian moralist poet Sa‘dī (d. between 691/1292 ... 695/1296), who was strongly attached to Ṣūfī ideals and doctrines, and had studied with both Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī and Abū l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī, invokes the *Aqbil!* report as a prophetic *ḥadīth* with "*awwalu mā khalaqa*" for the 'setting', in a form very close to the version quoted by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī in Ma‘rifat al-Asrār (#3), yet lacking the final phrases ("*wa bi-ka u‘āqibu...*"). This is found in Sa‘dī's brief essay Risāla dar ‘aql wa ‘ishq, ed. Muḥammad ‘Alī Furūghī in Kulliyyāt-i Sa‘dī [Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1987] 888-91, on 888. Sa‘dī is responding to a query about which of these two means of knowledge has priority (Reason or Love). *‘Aql* is treated as a way for knowledge and self-purification (just as with al-Ghazālī), being a light which shows the path to the last stage — Love. For Sa‘dī's views on *‘aql*, see Homa Katouzian, "Sufism and Sa‘dī, and Sa‘dī on Sufism", in The Legacy of Mediaeval Persian Sufism, ed. L. Lewisohn [London & New York: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publications, 1992] 191-201, esp. 199-200.

<for ch.1 p.22-26 #8a & #8b> The Ṣūfī teacher Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī (d.632/1234), in his ‘Awārif al-Ma‘ārif [2nd pr., Beirut: 1983] *chapter* 56 p.454-5 when treating the dichotomy of *nafs* and *rūḥ*, and the subtle centers within man of *rūḥ & sirr* beyond the heart/*qalb*, mentions *al-‘aql* :

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1. These additional materials were uncovered too late for inclusion in the main body of our text or the notes, and are briefly sketched here. A number of sources were brought to my attention by Professor Hermann Landolt. Discussions with him, and his intimate knowledge of Ṣūfī literature, have helped clarify important points.

> "As for the intellect/*al-ʿaql*, it is the tongue of the spirit and the interpreter of 'inner-perception' (*lisānu l-rūḥ wa turjumānu l-baṣīrah*); and the 'inner-perception' in relation to the spirit has the same abode as the heart (*wa l-baṣīrah li-l-rūḥ bi-mathābati l-qalb*), while the intellect [in relation to the spirit] has the same abode as the tongue."

He immediately goes on to quote the prophetic *ḥadīth* with an "*awwalu mā khalaqa*" setting,[2] followed by five *ʿaql* reports ultimately derived from Dāwūd b. al-Muḥabbar's Kitāb al-ʿAql[3] (on p.455; perhaps taken from al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā', or directly from the Musnad of al-Ḥārith).

Al-Suhrawardī's form of the *Aqbil!* report belongs to that trajectory of versions deriving from Basran Qadarī Ṣūfī circles attested to by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī in Nawādir al-Uṣūl and al-Muḥāsibī in al-Naṣā'iḥ. Its 'testing' comprises the same five elements of report #8a (...Sit, Speak, Be Silent!). However its 'encomium' is close to that of report #8b (as well as the form provided by Miskawayh in Fī l-ʿAql wa l-Maʿqūl - see ch.1 p.69 n.103) : "*wa ʿizzatī wa jalālī wa ʿaẓamatī wa kibriyā'ī wa sulṭānī wa jabarūtī, mā khalaqtu khalqan...*". The 'listing' is almost identical with that in #8a, save for a final element consummating the report: "*wa mā ukrimtuka bi-shay'in afḍala min al-ṣabr.*"

<for ch.3 §II p.138, & p.159-60 n.55> Al-Ghazālī also quotes the "*awwalu mā khalaqa*" form of the *Aqbil!* report in:

Miʿyār al-ʿIlm, ed. Sulaymān Dunyā [Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1969] 292. When discussing *ʿaql al-kull & al-ʿaql al-kullī* 'the Universal Intellect', al-Ghazālī points to two accepted significations: the first being the totality of intellectual essences of which the last emanation is the Agent Intellect (*al-ʿaql al-faʿʿāl*); the second being the uppermost celestial

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2. Reproduced in the Persian paraphrase-*sharḥ* of the ʿAwārif by Maḥmūd-i Kāshānī, Miṣbāḥ al-Hidāyah 102.

3. For which see ch.1 p.65 n.90.

body (*al-jirm al-aqṣā*) or ninth sphere as the greatest of created things, incorporeal, and mover of all, said by some of the *falāsifah* (Ibn Sīnā?) to be signified by 'Throne' and to be intended by the prophetic report "The first thing which God created was the Intellect...".

Fayṣal al-Tafriqah bayna l-Īmān wa l-Zandaqah [Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Taraqqā, 1319] 8f. > + in the collection al-Quṣūr al-ʿAwālī, ed. Muṣṭafā Abū ʿAṭā, I 128. Al-Ghazālī adduces the "*awwalu mā khalaqa*" report in support of God's non-materiality (against the anthropomorphists), and that God accomplishes His deeds through a spiritual medium such as Angels, of which *ʿaql* is one:

> *...wa llāhu Taʿālā yuʿṭī wa yamnaʿu bi-wāsitati l-malā'ikah kamā qāla (l-nabiy) a.s., "awwalu mā khalaqa llāhu l-ʿaqlu fa-qāla, bi-ka uʿṭī wa bi-ka amnaʿu"; ...yakūnu ʿibāratan ʿan dhāti malakin min al-malā'ikah yusammā ʿaqlan min ḥaythu yaʿqilu l-ashyā'a bi-jawharihi wa dhātihi min ghayri ḥājatin ilā taʿallum.*

For the issue of al-Ghazālī's mystical neoplatonism, see H. Landolt, "Ghazālī and '*Religionswissenschaft*', Some Notes on the *Mishkāt al-Anwār*", Asiatische Studien XLV (1991) 19-72.

⟶ B. <for ch.1 p.52 n.49> Ibn al-Jawzī's Minhāj al-Qāṣidīn was his intended correction\replacement for al-Ghazālī's Iḥyā'. Ibn Qudāmah's abbreviation Mukhtaṣar Minhāj al-Qāṣidīn is now edited by ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Mahdī [Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1995]. Apparently whatever discussion of *ʿaql* Ibn al-Jawzī had included in the Minhāj was fastidiously excised by Ibn Qudāmah in his Mukhtaṣar (yet see p.373f. on innate disparities in love).

⟶ C. <for ch.3 p.139-142, & p.161-2 nn.60-62>

See the edition of Ibn Taymiyyah's Bughyat al-Murtād fī l-Radd ʿalā l-Mutafalsifah wa l-Qarāmiṭah wa l-Bāṭiniyyah Ahl al-Ilḥād min al-Qā'ilīna bi-l-Ḥulūl wa l-Ittiḥād, ed. Mūsā b.

Sulaymān al-Duwaysh [1st pr., n.p. (Kuwayt, or al-Riyāḍ?): Maktabat al-ʿUlūm wa l-Ḥukm, 1408/1988; 615pp.] text = 169-531. Written in 709 A.H. during Ibn Taymiyyah's eight month forced confinement in the fortress of Alexandria; the title Bughyat al-Murtād... was prefixed by a later copyist, the work being known either as al-Masā'il al-Iskandarāniyyah (fī l-Radd ʿalā l-Ittiḥādiyyah wa l-Ḥulūliyyah), or as (al-Radd ʿalā) l-Sabʿīniyyah[4].

Over half of this text is devoted to a detailed rebuttal of al-Ghazālī (particularly Mishkāt al-Anwār, also Jawāhir al-Qur'ān & Fayṣal al-Tafriqah), then of Ibn al-ʿArabī and Ibn Sabʿīn. It constitutes an important treatment of the clash between *sharīʿah* and *falsafah* in Islamic thought focused on the notion of *ʿaql*, with its value increased ten-fold by the meticulous labors of the editor and of the printer. The treatments of the *ʿaql* reports found in Ibn Taymiyyah's other writings discussed above in ch.3 §III, and many of his pungent views on philosophical mysticism, are paraphrases or summaries from this work. For the *Aqbil!* report, see the extensive discussion by al-Duwaysh (introduction 90-7), and in Ibn Taymiyyah's text (171f., & 243f.).

<ch.3 §III p.140, & p.151 n.60> The positions of al-Ghazālī and of Ibn Taymiyyah on *ʿaql & ʿilm* :

Al-Ghazālī argues against the theologians who held that *ʿaql* was an accident (*ʿaraḍ*) and who identified it with knowledge. For al-Ghazālī, *ʿaql* is an 'essential-substance' (*jawhar*) and *ʿilm* an accident; *ʿaql* is the 'locus' (*maḥall*) in which *ʿilm* inheres, and must necessarily precede *ʿilm*.[5]

4. Eg. in his al-Radd ʿalā l-Manṭiqiyyīn [Lahore: 1396/1976] 275, Ibn Taymiyyah refers to this work as al-Sabʿīniyyah; while in his Kitāb al-Nubuwwāt [al-Riyāḍ: Maktabat al-Riyāḍ al-Ḥadīthah, 1346] 82, it is given as al-Radd ʿalā Ibn Sabʿīn wa Ahl al-Waḥdah. See Bughyat, editor's introduction, 53-7.

5. See Iḥyā' III 4 (= above, ch.3 p.161 n.60). Thus in his Fayṣal al-Tafriqah 8 (quoted by Ibn Taymiyyah in Bughyat 197), after invoking the "*awwalu mā khalaqa*" report, al-Ghazālī asserts: "*...wa lā yumkinu an yakūna l-murādu bi-dhālika l-ʿaqli ʿaraḍan kamā yaʿtaqiduhu l-mutakallimūna, idh*

Our misreading of al-Ghazālī's dialectical query in Iḥyā' I 83 (= above p.162 n.62) should be corrected; rather, this is a rhetorical objection which does not represent his own view. Ibn Taymiyyah, on the contrary, adheres to the position that *'aql* is an accident, not an 'essential-substance' (see above p.161-2 n.61); ie. *'aql* is an accident which is not self-subsistant (*huwa 'araḍun qā'imun bi-ghayrihi*, Bughyat 274). Thus he explicitly contradicts al-Ghazālī, and our misreading of Ibn Taymiyyah's position (p.140 mid-page) should be corrected accordingly.

These issues are detailed in Bughyat 251-74, wherein Ibn Taymiyyah invokes and reacts to the views of early *fuqahā'* like al-Shāfi'ī (*"al-'aqlu ālatu l-tamyīz"*), or Ibn Ḥanbal (*"al-'aqlu gharīzah wa l-ḥikmah fiṭnah..."*); and to theological views of classical Shāfi'ī and Ḥanbalī *uṣūl al-dīn* where *'aql* was often defined as a form of axiomatic knowledge (*ḍarbun min al-'ulūmi l-ḍarūriyyah*) requisite for moral responsibility (*manāṭ al-taklīf*). Here, Ibn Taymiyyah draws upon a wide range of sources, particularly the work of al-Qāḍī Abū Ya'lā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Farrā', al-Mu'tamad fī Uṣūl al-Dīn, ed. Wadī' Zaydān Ḥaddād [Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1974] 101-2.[6] Ibn Taymiyyah's threefold defini-

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lā yumkinu an yakūna l-'araḍu awwala makhlūqin...". Al-Ghazālī comes close to the position of the *falāsifah* in accepting that accident is subordinate or secondary to 'locus' (*al-'araḍ tābi'un li-l-maḥall*); see al-Ghazālī, Maqāṣid al-Falāsifah, Muqaddimat Tahāfut al-Falāsifah, ed. Sulaymān Dunyā [2nd ed., Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1960] *al-maqālat al-ūlā min al-muqaddimat al-thāniyah* 143.

6. See Bughyat 258-70; & cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, Dhamm al-Hawā 5-6. Ibn Taymiyyah drew upon an unabridged copy of Abū Ya'lā's al-Mu'tamad, since the published edition is only a *mukhtaṣar*. It is through the Mu'tamad that Ibn Taymiyyah is able to quote from the Kitāb al-'Aql of the Ḥanbalī *uṣūlī* Abū l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Tamīmī d.351/962 (see Bughyat 257, & 258 — al-Tamīmī: "*(al-'aqlu) laysa bi jismin wa lā ṣurah wa lā jawhar wa innamā huwa nūrun fa-huwa ka-l-'ilm*"); or the views of early Ḥanbalīs such as Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Barbahārī d.329/940-1 (ibid. 258: "*laysa l-'aqlu bi-iktisāb innamā huwa faḍlun min Allāh*"). Ibn Taymiyyah's rebuttal of Ash'arī views is largely aimed at Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (d.403/1013) and Abū

tion of *'aql* as a human instinctive faculty (*gharīzah*, ie. "*al-quwwatu llatī ya'qilu bi-hā*"), as knowledge[7], and as the practice of knowledge ("*al-'amal bi-l-'ilm*"), appears to be indebted to Abū Ya'lā Ibn al-Farrā' (see Bughyat 259-60). Curiously, Ibn Taymiyyah's position at several points approaches that of al-Ghazālī's four-fold division as outlined in Iḥyā' I *kitāb al-'ilm, bāb sharaf al-'aql*; see eg. the translation by Nabih Amin Faris, The Book of Knowledge [Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1962] 226-8.

→ D. <for ch.4 §I p.165f.; ch.5 p.205, p.219 n.17; ch.6 p.259 & p.270; p.296 & p.298-9> *'Aql*, Light, & Throne :

We maintained in a number of places that in al-Ṣādiq's creation narrative of the Seventy-Five *jund* in ch.5, *al-'aql* may have been created from the light of God's Throne, rather than from God's Light. The most compelling factor for this assertion is our locating the creation of *'aql* within the context of Biblicist Wisdom speculations preceding and contemporaneous with second century Islam (p.183-4 n.23). It was shown that certain motifs in the *'aql* creation narratives indeed derive from such Wisdom teachings (eg. "grains of sand", p.82-3 n.143, & p.178 n.5) In other words, such *'aql* narratives exemplify early Islamic Wisdom speculations about pre-creation wisdom in the Throne realm.

However, the issue is not so clear-cut, and the real possibility that al-Ṣādiq's intent was to portray the heavenly

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Bakr Ibn Fūrak al-Iṣbahānī (d.406/1015).

7. Including both the *'ulūm ḍarūriyyah* requisite for *taklīf*, and the acquired knowledge (*'ulūm muktasibah*) which invites men to beneficial deeds and to abandon unworthy manifestations ("*alladhī yamtani'u bi-hi min fi'li l-qabīḥ*" = view of Ibn Fūrak). Ibn al-Farrā' depicts this latter type of intelligence as "*manāṭ al-najāt wa l-sa'ādah wa huwa l-'aqlu l-mamdūḥ alladhī ṣunnifat al-kutubu fī faḍlihi*" (Bughyat 259).

sapiential *'aql*, God's First Creation among the *rūḥāniyyūn* next to the Throne, as being created from God's Light, needs to be re-examined. As Professor Landolt reminded us, the Sunnī reports in ch.4 #22 & #23 do not derive *'aql* from the Throne, rather *'aql* is greater than the Throne (or than the sum of all God's creations). A conscientious appraisal of this question would have to ponder a number of issues:

1. The identity of the 'spiritual*immaterial beings' (*al-rūḥāniyyūn*) and why they are on the right side of the Throne (cf. ch.5 p.233-4 nn.83-85; + p.236 n.90). The highest rank of Angels (often identified with the seraphim, or the *karūbiyyūn* / cherubim [8], and\or the Throne-bearers[9]), springs to mind. Recall Ch.4 report #24 depicting God's creation of the angel *'aql*, aligning it with a "light in the heart"[10]; +

8. Exegetes sometimes distinguished between the *karūbiyyūn* as belonging to *al-'ālam al-Jalāl*, and the *rūḥāniyyūn* who belong to *al-'ālam al-Jamāl*; see eg. Bughyat 230.

9. Generally thought to be the highest among the Near Angels (*al-malā'ikah al-muqarrabūn*). In a report via al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim purporting to give the exegesis of Q *al-Ḥāqqah* 69:17 ("And the angels will be on its borders, and above them on that day eight will bear the Throne of thy Lord"), Ibn 'Abbās is asked about the view that "eight" here refers to a rank among the nine ranks of angels (*ajzā' min tis'ah*), and he affirms that the *karūbiyyūn* are the Throne-bearers. See Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān Ibn Abī Shaybah (d.297/909-10), Kitāb al-'Arsh wa Mā Ruwiya fī-hi, ed. Muḥammad b. Ḥamad al-Ḥammūd [Kuwayt: Maktabat al-Mu'allā, 1986] 65 #27; & Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī (d.358/969), al-Asmā' wa l-Ṣifāt, ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī [Cairo: 1358/1939] 505, on a different *isnād*.

10. An Ibn 'Abbās report from Ibn Abī Shaybah's al-'Arsh (85-7 #75) depicts the angel Isrāfīl [Seraphel?] as guardian of the Preserved Tablet higher in rank than Michael, Gabriel, or the Angel of Death, with seventy fiery lights separating him from God (*baynahu wa bayna l-Rabb sab'ūna nūran*). Likewise, in a *qawl* of the Basran devotee Abū Ḥājib Zurārah b. Awfā al-Ḥarashī (d.93/711-12), Gabriel tells the Prophet that he has not seen the Lord since seventy veils of light (*sab'īn ḥijāban min nūr*) intervene between Gabriel and God; ibid. 87 #77; 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd al-Dārimī, al-Radd 'alā l-Marīsī 172; & cf. Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī, Ḥilyat V 55. On the role of Isrāfīl, see Landolt, "Ghazālī and 'Religionswissenschaft'" 47, & 48 n.112.

cf. p.187 n.36. The abundant Shīʿī materials linking the Prophet and Imāms with Throne and light (eg. *al-ʿālīna*) are also significant (see ch.6 §II p.267, & p.289 n.60).

2. The place of the Throne in priority of creation (see ch.2 §II p.98 & p.116 n.31, + ch.3 p. 158 n.50). The Qur'ān only implies the existence of God's Throne before the creation of heaven and earth, but does not refer to its creation as such (eg. Q *Hūd* 11:7 "And He it is Who created the heavens and the earth in six days, and His throne was on the water..."). This verse ("*wa kāna ʿarshuhu ʿalā l-mā'*") was continually invoked in early *ḥadīth* about the beginning of creation (*bad' al-khalq*), often in a context stressing divine providential pre-determination.[11] Ibn Taymiyyah (Bughyat 285-99) discusses these reports about creation and the Throne, in the context of converging reports about *Qalam* as First Creation, arguing that the Throne existed before the Pen (*qadara l-maqādīra wa ʿarshuhu ʿalā l-mā'i qabla an yakhluqa l-samāwāti wa l-arḍ*). He does so in refuting the notion of philosophical mysticism that the Pen is *al-ʿaql al-faʿʿāl* or *al-ʿaql al-awwal*.[12]

3. The significance of light in relation to both the Throne and to *ʿaql*. Because this issue experienced profound elaborations in later Islamic philosophical and theosophical teachings, it is difficult to work one's way back to the thought-world of the mid-second century A.H. Those who are intimately acquainted with the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (see ch.5

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11. For such reports see eg.: al-Bukhārī, *k. bad' al-khalq* III 1165f.; Muslim, *k. al-qadar, bāb ḥijāj Ādam wa Mūsā* IV 2044; Ibn Abī Shaybah, al-ʿArsh *passim*; al-Bayhaqī, al-Asmā' wa l-Ṣifāt 374-5, 378-9, 383-4; al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, Mustadrak II 341.

12. Ibn Taymiyyah quotes from al-Ghazālī's Jawāhir al-Qur'ān [Beirut: Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadīdah, ١٩٧٣] 29f.; see Bughyat 277-9.

p.232 n.80), with Ibn Sīnā's thought and its reception by Suhrawardī *shaykh al-ishrāq* in his illuminationism with its Zoroastrian-based angelology, as well as the reception by al-Ghazālī of Islamic neoplatonism (see H. Landolt, "Ghazālī and '*Religionswissenschaft*'"); and with the inextricable mingling of philosophy and Ṣūfism in mediaeval Persia, may apprehend certain premonitions in al-Ṣādiq's myth of *ʿaql & jahl*, and in al-Kāẓim's portrayal of the light-*ʿaql* as greater than the angels in ch.6 §II #28. The glorified *ʿaql* of light found in Ghawr al-Umūr (ch.6 p.255f.; see below Addendum E.) clearly identifies *ʿaql* with God's Light (both *Jamāl & Jalāl*; as well as "*nūrun ʿalā nūr*").[13]

However one chooses to comprehend the nexus of *ʿaql*, light, and Throne, we must not lose sight of the central opposition of *ʿaql | jahl* and the anthropic dimension of both (Adam | Iblīs). If one aligns al-Ṣādiq's *ʿaql* narrative with the notion of *Nūr Muḥammad*, there may be some support in other 2nd century reports linking the Muḥammadan Light with the Throne; see above ch.3 p.158 n.50, & Uri Rubin, "Pre-existence and Light. Aspects of the Concept of *Nūr Muḥammad*", Israel Oriental Studies V (1975) 62-119.

→ E. <for ch.6 p.255f.> Concerning the question of the ascription of Ghawr al-Umūr to al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, see:

G. Gobillot, "Un penseur de l'Amour (*Ḥubb*), le mystique khurāsānien al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (m. 318/930)", SI LXXIII (1991) 25-44, on 27 n.11.

B. Radtke, Al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmiḏī [Freiburg: 1980] 51 & 70.

_________, "Theologen und Mystiker in Ḫurāsān und Transoxanien", ZDMG CXXXVI (1986) 536-69, on 555; (points to

13. Al-Ghazālī aligns *ʿaql* with "*nūr al-samāwāti wa l-arḍ*", and with an angel ("*jawāhir nūrāniyyah sharīfah ʿāliyyah*"); eg. Mishkāt al-Anwār, ed. Abū l-ʿAlāʾ ʿAfīfī [Cairo: Dār al-Qawmiyyah, 1964] 44f., 59f., 67f., & 76f. Cf. Ibn Taymiyyah, Bughyat 205-6 & 375-6.

terminological inconsistencies with al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī's other known works).

_________, "*Psychomachia* in der Sufik", on 137-8 & nn.14, 19; (suggests the possible authorship of Ibn al-ʿArabī).

_________, "Tirmiḏiana Minora II: Ibn al-ʿArabīs Kommentar zu al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmiḏīs *Sīrat al-awliyā'*, einige filologische Bemerkungen", Oriens XXXIV (1994) 277-98, on 279 n.140.

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